

Today the Future is Made

Chuukese Adolescents and their Expectations and
Ambitions for the Future

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The future belongs to those who prepare for it today.

Malcolm X (1925-1965)

PREFACE

It has been a learning experience. Never before had I travelled alone. Never before had I travelled so far. Never before had I been away from home for so long. It has been a learning experience, and a great one for that matter. My research did not only acquaint me with being on my own but also with being amongst people in a different culture. Living on a small Pacific Island has been an amazing experience and I am indebted to many people for helping me during my research and with writing my thesis.

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INTRODUCTION

Whenever I mentioned to Dutch people that I was going to do my master's research in cultural anthropology in Chuuk they looked at me with incomprehension. Even explaining that Chuuk is a group of islands in the area called Micronesia did not ring any bells. At times it seemed to me that this was an area that had been hidden from or forgotten by the rest of the world as well as by Dutch anthropologists researching the Pacific area. The bulk of anthropological research on the Pacific area in the Netherlands has been concerned with Polynesia, Melanesia and Australia. This was one of the reasons I chose to do my master's research in Micronesia. Another factor that roused my interest in Micronesia was the relative isolation of the islands and their small size. Small islands like these have always inspired romantic images (McCall, 1994, p. 106). Pacific islands in particular have been seen as earthly paradises and are nowadays advertised this way in holiday catalogues. This image started long ago when the first European explorers came to the Pacific area. The voyagers discovered islands with beautiful nature and hospitable people. After months at sea this must have been a welcome change and therefore the islands were soon depicted as a paradise (Borsboom, 1998, pp. 8-11).

But living on a small island surrounded by a vast ocean also has its difficulties. Most of the time life on the small islands of Micronesia is not like the paradise it is made out to be. Some of these difficulties, such as alcohol abuse, have been caused by social changes that have occurred in the last centuries by colonization. The area has been colonised successively by the Spanish, Germans, Japanese and Americans. Especially during the American administration, which started after the Second World War, cultural institutions on the islands have changed because of the introduction of Western style democratic principles, education, medical care and the cash economy (Hezel, 2001a, p. 3-5). The people on the islands of Chuuk today face difficulties in obtaining and sustaining the high standards that modern society demands. It is hard for them to build a sustainable economy, provide adequate education for their children and build a democracy without corruption. The cash economy requires people to get better and higher levels of education, but after returning from college, jobs are often hard to

find in Chuuk. As a result many people migrate to other areas in Micronesia or to the United States of America (Hezel, 2001a, p. 8, 144-147).

The changes that people in Chuuk have gone through evolved so quickly that the youth today is growing up in a world that is very different from the world their parents grew up in. The Chuukese youth today is being introduced to the internet, hip-hop music and more opportunities in education and employment than their parents had. This also means that the youths have more decisions to make about what they want their future to be. I therefore decided to focus my research on the perspectives the Chuukese adolescents have on their future. Information about how the adults of the future would like to live can disclose information about how the future of these islands might evolve. These plans for the future can also disclose information about the difficulties that the youths will face in their lives and how they will try to overcome these problems. Therefore I chose to research the expectations and ambitions that the youth on Chuuk have for their future and how they intend to realize these expectations and ambitions. I discuss my research question more elaborately in chapter one.

I have been researching this topic between January 21st and April 20th by doing fieldwork on the island of Weno, the administrative and economic heart of Chuuk State. During that period I gathered information by carrying out interviews with 34 Chuukese youths and by observing and participating in Chuukese daily life. The results of this research I describe in this thesis, with which I will finish my master's degree in Cultural Anthropology at the Radboud University of Nijmegen. The department of Cultural Anthropology at this University is involved in research concerned with the subject of 'Culture and Mobility' and I would like to place my thesis in this context. As will become clear in my thesis, Chuukese youths, and therefore Chuukese culture, are involved in processes of migration. Therefore this thesis is concerned with the mobility of the youths and their culture.

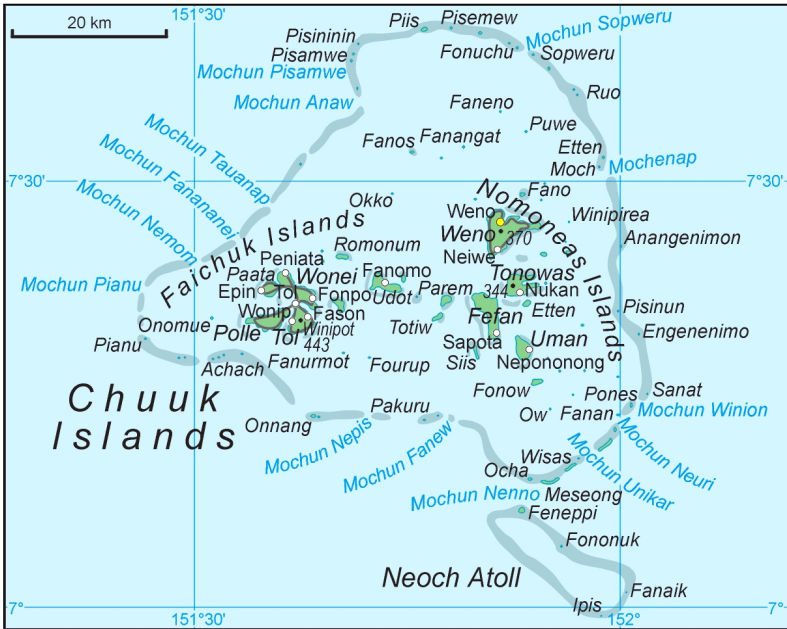
The thesis has the following structure. In the first chapter I explain more about where I did my research. Since not many people are familiar with Micronesia and Chuuk I want to provide a more detailed description of the area and its history. After that I explain more elaborately why how I came to research the expectations and ambitions of Chuukese youths by describing relevant literature concerning my

research subject. Through that description I support the relevancy of this research. In this chapter I also more elaborately discuss my research question and the key concepts of my research. In chapter two I describe my methods of research. I describe my research setting and the selection of the informants in my research. I explain how I obtained information from them and how I structured and analysed that information.

In the third, fourth and fifth chapter I discuss the results of my research. In chapter three I focus on the expectations and ambitions that my informants have for the future concerning education and employment. In this chapter I describe what kind of education and jobs they would like in the future. I also discuss what kind of problems they expect to face and how they expect to solve those problems. Next I describe the expectations the youths' parents have for them and how differences in opinion between parents and youths are solved. The fourth chapter deals with the kind of domestic situation the youths would like to have in the future. In this chapter I discuss what they would like their relation with their spouse and children to be. Another topic that I describe is how they perceive their domestic situation to be different than the situation their parents had. The fifth chapter deals with family and friends. In this chapter I describe what kind of relationship the youths expect to have with their family and friends in the future and the importance they attribute to these relations. In every chapter in which I discuss the results of my research, I will also mention the expectations that the youths think their parents have for their futures concerning the different topics. I end this thesis with a conclusion. In this conclusion I summarize the most important findings in my research and connect my results to the literature described earlier in the thesis. By doing this I answer my research questions and hope to give some suggestions as to how some of the problems the youths face might be diminished.

With this thesis I provide some insight in what life in Chuuk is like for youths. Their expectations, ambitions and the problems they face in realizing these plans show the difficulties of living on a small Pacific island. Chuuk is by no means a unique example of these difficulties; small island societies all over the world experience similar problems. With this thesis I intend to inform readers about Chuuk and hopefully attract more attention to small island societies.

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Map 2: Chuuk State (source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Map_Chuk_Islands1.png)



Figure 1: Satellite Picture of Weno (Source: Google Earth)

CHAPTER 1

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

In this chapter I describe the theoretical perspectives that are relevant in my research. The perspectives are concerned with different subjects. First I explain more about the Chuukese economy and the ongoing discussions on the sustainability of island economies. After that I explain more about the theoretical perspectives concerning youth or adolescence that are relevant in my research. Here I also describe in a more detailed way the changes that have occurred in Chuukese families over the years and the effect this has on youths. In the final paragraph I describe my research question.

1.1 The Chuukese economy: past, present and future

To get a better understanding of the Chuukese economy and how this economy fits into the discussions on the sustainability of small island economies, it is necessary to have some understanding of how that economy came about and how it has evolved to its present-day structure. Therefore I will now explain more about the Chuukese colonial history and the effects this has had and still has on the Chuukese economy. After that I will describe the discussions of the sustainability of small island economies and possible futures for these economies. This discussion is relevant to my research question because the future economy of Chuuk will have a profound effect on the realisation of the plans Chuukese youths have for the future, especially concerning the availability of employment in Chuuk.

1.1.1 The colonial history of Chuuk and its effects on the Chuukese economy

Chuuk is one of the states of the Federated States of Micronesia. This nation-state is comprised of three other states apart from Chuuk, namely Kosrae, Yap and Pohnpei, which is the governmental centre of the nation-state. The Federated States of Micronesia are situated in the area called Micronesia which, together with Polynesia and Melanesia, forms the larger area called the Oceania. Apart from the Federated States of Micronesia a couple of other countries belong to this area namely the

Northern Mariana Islands, the Republic of Palau and the Marshall Islands (Chenevière, 1995, p. 165). Chuuk is a large island group that consists of about 100 islands of which approximately 43 islands are inhabited. The centre of this island group is formed by the Chuuk Lagoon. This lagoon is comprised of about six large and high volcanic islands and many smaller volcanic islands. These islands are surrounded by a triangular shaped rim of small and flat coral islands and large coral reefs. Apart from the Lagoon islands, there are different groups of islands that are also considered to be a part of Chuuk. These island groups are the Mortlock Islands, The Halls, Namonuito, and Pattiw. They consist largely of flat atolls and have a small surface area which doesn't provide for a large amount of people. Therefore the communities on these islands are small. Most of the inhabitants of Chuuk have always lived in the lagoon area (Chuuk Branch Statistics Office, 2002, p. 1-2).

The people of Chuuk are thought to have settled in the area around 1500 B.C. (Fischer & Fischer, 1970, p. 13). The area was first discovered by the Spaniards in 1529. After that there was very little interest in the area for two and a half centuries due to the small size of the islands and the lack in trading goods (ibid, 1970, p. 18-20). It took the Spaniards up to 1886 to gain possession of all the Caroline Islands, which Chuuk is part of. In the beginning of the 19th century the Christian missions came to the area, both Protestant and Catholic (Hezel, 1995, pp. 4, 14). Trade with the native people also came about in that period and it was mostly the Germans that were involved in this matter, even during the Spanish rule (ibid, p. 55). The situation on Chuuk was a bit different than in the rest of the area because it was geographically more remote and the people were known to be violent to strangers, which made the Spaniards and Germans ignore the area mostly. The only foreigners that were actively involved on the islands were the American Protestant missionaries (ibid, pp. 62-65). In 1890 the Japanese came to the area for trading purposes and sometimes settled on Chuuk because this was comfortably far away from the Spanish rulers (ibid, p. 80). At the end of the 19th century however, the Spaniards got into a war with the Americans and the latter won (ibid, pp. 91-93). The Germans were eager to gain possession of more land but the Americans wanted to keep their land in Micronesia to support their navy base on Guam, one of the largest islands in Micronesia. The Spaniards decided to

sell their land to the Germans because they were in need of money because of extensive warfare (ibid, pp. 94-95).

Germany's administration wanted the colonies to provide for themselves but experienced some problems in arranging a sustainable economy (ibid, p. 110). The people of Chuuk had never worked for money before and weren't ambitious in their job because traditionally they had never worked to gain surplus or status (ibid, p. 144). Chuuk had never had a system in which status and authority were of great importance. The social organisation on Chuuk had always been based upon matrilineal descent groups. These descent groups, also called lineages, were composed of the women of a family, their children and their in-marrying men (Hezel, 2001a, pp. 8-9). Within these groups there was a ranking system which organized social organisation. Ranking was based on sex, age and seniority. Usually men had authority over women and older people over younger people (Goodenough, 2002, pp. 55, 59). This ranking system however did not provide a chief which had authority over a large group of people. Usually matrilineal groups were ruled by the person that ranked highest in the lineage. Political leadership on an island was shared between several of the highest ranking leaders of the matrilineal groups (Hezel, 2001a, p. 122). Since ranking was for the most part based on sex and age, and these can not be influenced by personal achievement, political status was hard to acquire. There were however some ways in which one could try to exceed others. One of the ways to gain respect and status in the society was to behave as a good person. A good person, but more specifically a good man, had several characteristics like *pwara* (courage and strength), *mósónósón* (having respect for others and being kind) and *ekiyek pwécékkún* (having strong thoughts) (Marshall, 1979, p. 56). These characteristics could be shown when fighting others in local warfare, in fishing and having love affairs (ibid., 1979, p.59). Another way to enhance ones status was to be competent in certain skills. It was important that a person would develop his or her capabilities. Being competent in crafts, warfare, singing, dancing, storytelling and making speeches could make a person more attractive to the opposite sex and make a better marriage partner (Goodenough, 2002, p. 70). Thus there were ways to enhance personal status, but status could only little be enhanced.

In 1914 the First World War began and the Japanese declared war to Germany (Hezel, 1995, pp. 145). Not long thereafter the Japanese troops invaded Micronesia and claimed the area for themselves (ibid, pp. 146-147). The Americans, who had a lot of interests in Hawaii and the Philippines and had a navy base on Guam, knew that a conflict with the Japanese would be unavoidable (ibid, p. 149). The Japanese had their headquarters in Chuuk and were largely concerned with leaving a Japanese imprint in the Chuukese society. The people were forced to assimilate to Japanese culture (ibid, p. 153). They also forced the Chuukese to engage in jobs on penalty of imprisonment. This however did not change the attitude people had toward the cash economy because they were satisfied with living off the land and the sea (ibid, p. 184-185). This made the Japanese encourage Japanese labourers to work on the development of the islands. They industrialised the fishing industry and also encouraged urbanisation (ibid, pp. 186-187, 189). This seemed to work well for a while and there was even a period of time in which there was more export than import in the area. This never happened again after that but it didn't last long (ibid, p.194). At the end of the 1930's the tension was starting to build up in Micronesia because of the developments in Europe and the Japanese started to prepare for war (ibid, pp. 216-218). In 1944 the American attack on Chuuk began and a year later the Americans gained complete control over the islands (ibid, pp. 224, 227 240-241).

The American administration wanted all the Japanese labourers off the islands because they were afraid they would turn against them (ibid, pp. 248-249). The Americans wanted to make the islands self-reliant again, but this was difficult because the people that used to do the work, the Japanese, had been sent away and the Chuukese population wasn't educated to do the job (ibid, p. 264). Therefore the Americans started to educate the Chuukese people and looked for an industry that could provide enough money to build a sustainable economy but this proved to be very hard. The American navy, which had ruled the islands since the end of the war, was eventually criticised for keeping the island economies sheltered from the rest of the world because this would not prepare the islands for the reality of the world-economy (ibid, pp. 268-270). The Americans also implemented democratic principles and tried to find a way to combine modern and traditional ways of ruling (ibid, p. 277). In

Chuuk the development was slowest of all the states because there had never before been an island-wide political system (ibid, p. 282). The Americans struggled with their position in the area because they felt the navy administration had to be replaced by a civilian administration (ibid, p. 282). They refused to call Micronesia a colony but did annex the islands and implemented a colonial rule. This was eventually called a trusteeship under the aegis of the United Nations. Because of this change a lot of the funds the navy used to have, were no longer available and therefore there was less money to invest in the economy, which made it harder to develop new industries (ibid, pp. 284-285).

In the mean time Micronesians were getting more educated and emancipated and were thinking of independence. The Americans were afraid that this would damage the protection of their strategic interests and decided it would be best if the islands would have a long-lasting political affiliation with the US. In the mean time they changed the education system on the islands to an American style education. People who were getting diplomas could still easily find a good job on the islands, especially within the government. Government jobs however were financed with US money, as is still the case, since the islands were not able to make money of their own. In 1969 the islands and the US started to negotiate independence, but it would take twelve more years before the trusteeship was abolished. Eventually the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) was formed. In 1986 a Compact of Free Association was signed which entailed that the US kept supporting the FSM financially in exchange for the insurance that US strategic interests would be protected. The US would provide annual grants for 15 years, reducing the grant every five years to help build a foundation for economic growth (Hezel, 2003, pp. 2-4).

However the FSM was doing very poorly in the first Compact and thus the US decided to make another Compact agreement that should last another 20 years. In this second Compact the FSM states receive annuals grants of which a certain proportion is to be saved in a trust fund. The proportion of the grant that is to be saved increases every year until the grants stop. After that the trust fund should be able to support the states until they can manage to build a sustainable economy of their own. However government expenses are high, also because of the high birth-rate and the young

population in Chuuk, and the governments are hardly making money. The export market - mainly fishery, commercial agriculture and tourism- only accounts for five percent of the FSM economy. The FSM has not yet found an industry that can provide a base for supporting its economy. Government fishery enterprises are not making profit and the only way the FSM has benefited from their extensive marine resources is by selling annual fishery licenses. The tourism industry is another potential export product, but only few tourists have found their way to the FSM so far because of high airfares. Chuuk only has 5000 visitors a year and they visit because it is one of the best places in the world to go scuba diving on the Japanese WWII shipwrecks. The agricultural industry is struggling as well because there has not been found a cash crop that would provide a viable industry (Hezel, 2003, pp. 2-7). The staggering economy and the unemployment rate have made thousands of FSM citizens decided to migrate abroad (ibid., pp. 8-9). Chuuk now is the state that is most economically troubled of the four FSM states. It has shown no economic growth and has more than 20 million dollar in debts (ibid, p 4).

1.1.2 Small island economies and their possible futures

As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis one of the reasons for choosing Micronesia as my research setting was that during my studies I have become very interested in life on small islands. There is something very ambivalent about small islands that make them interesting to me. This ambivalence has to do with the images that people tend to have of small islands. On the one hand islands have been romanticised as paradises of refuge, but on the other hand they have also been depicted as prisons because of the limited amount of land available and water surrounding it. Islands in Micronesia and the rest of the Pacific are often described like tiny dots within a vast ocean. This makes the islands seem powerless and weak because islands that tiny and isolated could never function in the real world where the big countries rule (McCall, 1944, p. 106). There are however other ways to depict these small islands. Epili Hau'ofa (1994, pp. 152-153) argues for the Pacific islanders:

'There is a world of difference between viewing the Pacific as 'islands in a far sea' and as 'a sea of islands'. The first emphasizes dry surfaces in a vast ocean far from the centres of power. Focussing in this way stresses the smallness and

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remoteness of the islands. The second is a more holistic perspective in which things are seen in the totality of their relationships.'

Hau'ofa states that the emphasis on the dry surfaces of the islands can only portray a negative image of these islands and their situation. According to this view the island states have no resources and are too isolated from the centres of economic power to establish an autonomous and satisfying economy. Mostly these islands are thought never to be able to leave their current condition of dependence on foreign and wealthy nations. Many Pacific islands have now become so called MIRAB societies. These are societies that depend on Migration, Remittances, Aid and Bureaucracy to get by (Hau'ofa, 1994, p. 150). The discussion that has evolved around these societies is whether or not these societies are sustainable and whether or not these societies should remain dependent on these forms of income (Poirine, 1998, p. 65).

Many officials and economists from Pacific countries, regional institutions, donor country agencies, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank find it hard to accept MIRAB as a sustainable development strategy. They have several reasons why they think the economies of these MIRAB societies will fail. One of the objections to MIRAB societies is that there is no such thing as free money. Many economists tend to think that remittances are given out of altruistic motives and this wouldn't be sustainable in the future because altruism is an irrational way for an economic person to behave. Therefore remittances will fall over time as links with the home country will weaken (Poirine, 1998, pp. 65-67). Advocates of MIRAB however contest these arguments. First they point out that the norms of reciprocity are more developed in poor countries because of the lack of individual savings and insurances (ibid, pp. 67-68). This makes reciprocity a very important factor when it comes to remittances because these remittances are often sent back home to pay off a loan in the 'informal family credit market'. According to these advocates, remittances are not given altruistically but are a way to pay back the family for the investments it has made in them. Families invest in human capital by sending their family members to school and making migration possible. In return for the investment made in them, migrants send back money and goods to their families back home. This is a very

reliable investment because reciprocity norms are high in these societies and thus migrants will feel compelled to send back remittances (ibid, pp. 74-75).

Another argument opponents of MIRAB bring forth is that the aid that is being offered to these societies isn't really earned. These societies are thought not to give anything in return for this money. Advocates however argue that aid is being given in exchange for the strategic services these islands have to offer and thus the money is not being given away for free (Poirine, 1998, p. 76). Islands have more strategic services than continental countries because they command greater surfaces of ocean and also make ideal missile and radar bases (ibid, p. 89). Opponents state that even if the money is not being given for free it is not being used the way it should. The money is not being invested in the local economy and it isn't being saved in the banks. This view is opposed by advocates of MIRAB who state that investment are being made, but not in the domestic economy because this would give less of a turnout in time and is not as reliable as investing in the labour of family members. These informal investments and savings are not being recorded because they take place inside the household (ibid, p. 78). In fact people who are engaged in the 'informal family credit market' are not at all as irrational as economists think they are. They actually behave exactly like an economic person would do; they allocate their resources to the highest productive use (ibid, p. 77). This does however mean that money is not being put to use in public services (ibid, p. 91).

One of the biggest problems the opponents of MIRAB detect is that the MIRAB societies depend mostly on import while not being able to find a sustainable export product. A country that is always spending more than it has coming in, is bound to fail. Advocates however state that the balance between import and export is not that crooked because the informal exports are not recorded and therefore not included in official balance sheets. When the export of labour and strategic services is included, the balance between import and export is positive in most island societies. Advocates thus state that if the flows of remittances and aid can be made stable and continuous the island economies need not worry about their future (Poirine, 1998, pp. 79-81).

In the case of the Federated States of Micronesia, aid from the US has indeed been reliant on the strategic services the islands could offer. However these strategic

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services might not be such a reliable export product in the end-of-the-cold-war context. The fact is that these services might no longer be of the important value they used to be and the US might lose their interest in the area (Poirine, 1998, p. 91). It is very possible that after the second Compact has ended the aid from the US will stop altogether. Therefore new industries might have to be found. There are several options for the FSM. One of the options is tourism, but as previously mentioned, this industry first has to deal with the problems of high airfares and limited tourist facilities (Hezel, 2003, p. 6). Another option could be found in attracting foreign investors to the islands. Up until now this has been difficult because investors have to deal with a lot of bureaucracy and often have troubles with obtaining land (*ibid.*, pp. 7-8). Most of the land is commonly owned by families and since land is scarce on islands most people are reluctant to sell it. Therefore land is usually hired out for short periods of time for thousands of dollar in rent. People now tend to view land more in monetary value (Hezel, 2001a, p. 40). In order to attract foreign investments, the FSM States would have to find ways to solve these issues (Hezel, 2003, p. 8).

The third option for the FSM economies would be the export of labour and to rely on remittances. Because the job market will probably stagnate in the near future (table 1), it will become harder to find jobs on the islands and therefore more people will migrate abroad. It is difficult to estimate how many Chuukese people are living outside of Chuuk at the moment because there are no statistics on this matter, but a rough guess is that nowadays about one in every four inhabitants of the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) lives abroad and this percentage is thought to increase within the following years. It is not unlikely that within ten years one in every two inhabitants of the FSM will have migrated (Hezel & Samuel, 2006, p.3). Many Chuukese migrants send money home to their families to provide extra support. Again, there are no statistics on this matter, but estimates range from about 15 million to 20 million US dollars every year that are being send home by people from the Federated States of Micronesia (*ibid.*, p. 23). Increasing migration therefore will increase the islands' income in the form of remittances. Migration will also cause even more emphasis being put on education, for this will be the only way to make a difference between a low paying job and a job higher up on the economic ladder (Hezel, 2003, p.

13). To insure that remittances will provide a stable income for the island Poirine (1998, pp. 82-83) states that the governments of island states should try to limit the flows of emigration. Too much emigration also makes parents decide to retire in the country where their children live leaving no one behind to receive remittances. It also causes reluctance on the part of the children to move back to their native country. Therefore emigration flows should be regulated. At the same time sending countries should encourage emigrants to return and children to stay to maximize remittances. Since emigration will only increase in the following years, a remittance driven economy is a very real option for the FSM and thus for Chuuk as well.

1.2 Adolescence in Chuuk

As mentioned in paragraph 1.1.1 the living conditions in Chuuk have changed extensively over the centuries. These changes were especially rapid during the Japanese and American administration in the 20th century. The changes I will describe in this following paragraph are closely related to one another. Changes in the economy have caused changes in the family structure, which have caused changes in the way children are being raised. This of course has had a lot of influence on the lives of youths.

One of the biggest influences on the changes within the Chuukese family has been the cash economy that has evolved on the island, as described in the previous paragraph. Traditionally the Chuukese family was an extended family also called 'lineage', which consisted of a woman, her female relatives, their children and their husbands. Within this group, food was produced, processed and distributed and the group lived closely together in adjacent houses (Hezel, 2001a, p. 8). Parents and their children usually lived together but other family members also lived with them (Oneismom & Hezel, 1992, p.1). The extended family was especially important in providing food for everyone because the lands it grew on belonged to the family (ibid. p.2). This changed with the cash economy because now the family no longer provided for its households, but a husband provided for them by working for a salary, while the woman stayed home to take care of the kids. Since households were now no longer dependent on the extended family for food, the extended family ties began to loosen

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and the nuclear family became more important. This also caused families to live more and more on their own, away from their relatives. Other factors in the changes in family structure are Western education and modern media like movies in which the ideal of a nuclear family often prevails (Hezel, 2001a, pp. 12-14). Another factor in these changes has been migration, which has caused people to have more contact with Western values they implement in their own lives. The migration from rural to urban areas also had this effect (ibid, pp. 89-90).

Because the nuclear family has gained importance nowadays, the way children are raised has also changed. In the past the extended family helped the parents to discipline their children. Because this extended family has now lessened in importance and lives farther away, these pedagogic tasks are now resting only on the parents' shoulders. The rearing of children has therefore become more of a household matter and nowadays relatives often find it inappropriate to interfere in these matters (ibid, pp. 14-15). This does however make it more difficult for relatives to notice and interfere in abuse within the household like child abuse and wife-beating. This has become widespread in Chuuk and it is often influenced by drinking problems (Samuel, 2003, p. 5). When conflicts between partners arise or between children and their parents extended families used to be able to interfere more directly because they were nearby and used to have more authority in these matters. These conflicts nowadays need to be solved within the household which has made it more difficult to solve them (Onesom & Hezel, 1992, p. 6). There is however more possibility within the household to get into conflict. Conflicts are being caused by the changes in respect behaviour. Traditionally respect has to be shown to everyone older than you. This used to result in avoidance of the people that needed to be respected. This happened most with the relation between parents and children that became more and more formal over the years, and the relation between male and female relatives who had to avoid each other from the beginning of puberty. Brothers and sisters were then no longer allowed to sleep in the same house or room, and girls had to take a lower position than their brothers whenever they met by bowing. Moreover mentioning anything sexual in the presence of sisters was taboo (ibid, pp. 5-6).

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These forms of respect behaviour are now less strict because of acquaintance with Western values, such as expression of opinion, through schools and media (Hezel, 1987, p. 289). Youths can now be more open to their parents and brothers and sister can interact more freely. Brothers do not need to move out of the house anymore when reaching puberty. Because the social distance between parents and their children and brothers and sisters has decreased there is more possibility for conflict (Oneisom & Hezel, 1992, p. 6). This is especially true for the father in the household, whose position has changed greatly over the past two decades. A father never used to have a lot of authority because he had married into the wife's family. Since land was inherited by the women of a family, the women and men within the wife's family had more authority. Now the man is often providing for the family and therefore most of the authority has shifted towards him. This also caused the father to have more authority over his children and this can cause conflicts (Hezel, 2001a, p. 18).

Because of the cash economy personal achievement has become more important. Through education a person can develop his or her own capabilities. Performing well in education makes it easier to perform well in the labour market. Having a good job does not only entail a good income but also personal success. In order to perform well in the cash economy it is important to develop individual capabilities. Education and the labour market are therefore a driving force behind individualisation (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 32-33). As mentioned in the previous paragraph, development of personal capabilities was one of the ways to enhance personal status and gain respect (Goodenough, 2002, p.70). This is still the case in Chuuk today. Respect therefore is not always immediately awarded to the oldest in the family. If a younger sibling performs well in school he or she can gain the respect of an older sibling (Oneisom & Hezel, 1992, p.6). This illustrates that the importance of education has increased over the years. This is not surprising since a good education nowadays has almost become a necessity in order to function properly in today's cash economy. By going to school youths have more contact with peers and these peers therefore play a more important part in the upbringing of youths than they did in the past when parents had somewhat of a monopoly position in the raising of their children. Youths want to not only earn the respect of their parents, but also of

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their peers and therefore behave according to their norms (Lowe, 2003, pp. 201-202). Eldering (2005, pp. 190-191) states that friends become more important in industrial societies. People in these societies also tend to see their friends more often than their family.

The importance being placed on education since the extensive industrialisation and urbanisation on the islands has had the effect that children nowadays go to school many more years than they used to and also marry later. Industrialisation also inspires family planning since it is no longer considered a must to have children (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 126). These are changes have changed the meaning of what it is to be an adolescent or youth. In pre-industrial societies the period of adolescence was usually quite short. This period usually commenced with the first menstruation of the girls and with boys different characteristics of sexual maturity, like facial hair of the lowering of the voice, indicated their adolescence. Adolescents were no longer considered adolescents when they got married. The period between gaining sexual maturity and marriage was relatively short and could last as short as a couple of years. By marrying later youths now have a longer period of adolescence (Fuchs, 1976, pp. 3-4).

The modern education and the differentiation in the economy have also influenced the lives of youths because they have given youths more and more possibilities for the future. According to Eldering (2005, p. 188) youths in pre-industrial societies used to progress through life in a more or less standardized way. There were not many choices to make. Nowadays youths have more options for their futures on the matter of education, jobs, relationships, marriage and children. Youths therefore have to make more choices about what they want their future to be. Havighurst (1976, p. 167) even states that a lot of choices, that will affect the adolescents' future, are actually being made during the adolescent phase. By making these choices youths select a way of life for themselves, but also for their societies.

When changes occur in society, youths are not passive bystanders but tend to play an active part in shaping the changes. Adolescents are usually the ones that have the most direct exposure to elements that can bring about social change like school, technology and popular culture. This makes youths adapt to these changes more

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rapidly and subsequently share this new knowledge with peers and elders in the society. Adolescence therefore helps a society define in what ways these new elements and institutions take form in the future (Herdt & Leavitt, 1998, pp. 3, 7). To find out how social situations on the islands of Chuuk have changed and how these changes will progress in the future, it is therefore interesting to aim the focus of research especially on youths. However when youths are being researched in social situations that have endured rapid changes, the focus of research is often on the problems these youths are facing or causing and not on the positive influence youths can have in the process of change (Herdt & Leavitt, 1998, p. 6).

In Micronesia there has been extensive research on youths and the social changes that have occurred but the focus of this research has been on the problems that youths experience like alcohol abuse and suicide¹. Since Chuuk was one of the island communities where these problems occurred most, often the writing on these subjects is concerned with Chuuk. This amount of research literature on youths in Chuuk was the main reason I specifically chose Chuuk as my research setting. However during the preparations of my research I felt it was important to investigate a topic concerning youths that focuses less on problems the youths encounter and more on the youths' plans and solutions. Therefore I decided to focus my research on the plans these youths have for the future. Of course the problems youths in Chuuk experience might influence their future I decided only to discuss these problems when mentioned by the Chuukese adolescents themselves. I chose to focus my research on the future because youths are such an important factor in the adaptation of society to new changes and therefore focussing on the future could provide more insight into the ways youths want to implement social changes in their future lives and the society they live in.

¹ There are several authors that have done extensive research on the matter of alcohol abuse and suicide in Micronesia. This is a small selection of materials on those subjects:

Hazel, F.X. (1987). Truk suicide epidemic and social change. *Human organization*, 46, 283-291.

Lowe, E.D. (2003). Identity, activity, and the well-being of adolescents and youths: lessons from young people in a Micronesian society. *Culture, medicine and Psychiatry*, 27, 187-219.

Marshall, M. (1979). *Weekend Warriors: Alcohol in a Micronesian Culture*. Palo Alto: Mayfield Publishing Company.

Rubinstein, D.H. (1995). Love and Suffering: Adolescent Socialisation and Suicide in Micronesia. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 7, 21-53

Geerlings, J. (2006) 'Clash': over de sociaal-culturele veranderingen en de problemen onder jongeren in Micronesia. BA-thesis, unpublished.

1.3 Research question and important concepts

The changes that have occurred in Chuuk have given youths the opportunity of choice. By making these choices the youths shape not only their own futures but also the futures of their society. This has led me to the following research question:

What expectations and ambitions do adolescents on Chuuk have concerning their future and how do they intend to realize these expectations and ambitions?

I have divided this research question into a number of smaller research questions each time aimed at a certain aspect of the plans young people have for the future.

- ❖ What expectations and ambitions do adolescents have concerning education?
Where and how do they intend to get the education they want?
- ❖ What expectations and ambitions do adolescents have concerning employment?
Where and how do they intend to get the employment they want?
- ❖ In which domestic situation do the adolescents want to live?
- ❖ What role do the youths want friends and family to play in their lives?
- ❖ What expectations and ambitions do youths think that their parents have for them?

I chose to inquire about these specific topics because the expected walk of life in most industrialised countries is to finish some type of education, get a job and raise a family. The fourth question I included because in pre-industrialised societies family has always been very important, while in more industrialised societies friends become more important (Eldering, 2005, pp. 190-191). Since Chuuk is still in the process of industrialising I was interested in the importance the youths attach to friends and family now and in the future. I chose to include this last topic to find out whether the expectations and ambitions of the youths and their parents differ and how these differences are resolved. The research questions I will discuss in the three chapters in which I will describe my research. In chapter three I discuss the first two questions because they are very much related to each other. In chapter four I discuss question three and in chapter five the fourth question is discussed. The last question I discuss in every of the three chapters. I describe what expectations the youths' parents have according to the youths on the subjects discussed in that particular chapter.

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There are a couple of concepts that I have used in my research questions that I would now like to clarify:

- ❖ *Adolescents/youths*: this concept is difficult to describe in age boundaries because in Chuuk this depends on the living situation of the youth. The adolescent phase usually begins at the age of 13 or 14. If a young person is already married he or she is no longer considered an adolescent. However if the person is not yet married and if the person still attends school or college they are considered to be youths. Since people could still be in school around the age of 25, I chose to consider these young people to be youths as well. The terms used for this age group are adolescents, youths or young people.
- ❖ *Expectations*: Those things that one thinks will happen in the future. This can be both positive and negative.
- ❖ *Ambitions*: The goals that one sets for the future, the things one strives for.
- ❖ *Domestic situation*: the composition of the household.
- ❖ *Household*: a group of people, living together in a housing unit, that share a meal.

In the next chapter I will explain more about how I investigated my research questions and my research setting.



Figure 2: The Island of Weno

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH SETTING AND METHODS OF RESEARCH

2.1 Research setting: Weno, Chuuk, Federated States of Micronesia

As I discovered during the preparations of my research, it is hard to get an idea of what living on Weno is like just by reading. All I knew about Weno upon arrival was book knowledge, which is usually a bit dated. My description of Weno will be insufficient to fully understand what living on Weno is like but a description is necessary to be able to have an idea of where the adolescents I interviewed grew up.

Weno is a small island of about 16 square kilometres and following the road that circles the island you can walk around it in a day. The island is volcanic in origin and vegetation is lush. The climate is damp because the humidity is high, as are the temperatures. When climbing up one of the two mountains of the islands, you can see the many islands surrounding Weno. Weno is the administrative and business centre of Chuuk State which attracts a lot of people, especially for employment and education. Thousands of people migrated in the past decades from the outer islands outside of the lagoon or from islands within the lagoon, to the main island of Weno, which now has about 16.000 residents. Most people live around the coastline in small houses made of wood or cement that are crowded close together. Mostly families live near to each other and visit almost on a daily basis. During the day most people go to their jobs in the town area of the island. They usually travel by car or take the bus. Cars drive slowly to avoid the dishes and holes in the road and because the one road leading to town is crowded in the morning, when people head for work and drop their children off at school. Since Weno has the most residents of all the islands, it also has about six high schools. This made me choose to reside on this island because high schools would be a good place to find youths to interview for my research.

The island is divided into districts or villages namely Sapuk, Wiichap, Peniyesene, Tunuk, Mechetiw, Iras and several others. During my stay in Weno I first lived in an apartment in Iras. Successively I found a sponsor family in Peniyesene and lived with them for seven more weeks. During my stay with that family I learned about

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Chuukese daily life by participating in it. For instance I would awake to the sounds roosters and the church bell at a quarter to six every morning. Religion is very important in Chuukese households and most villages have a church service every morning and evening. All inhabitants of Chuuk nowadays are Christians. About 53 percent of the population is Catholic, 43 percent is Protestant and 4 percent belongs to other Christian denominations, like the Seventh Day Adventists and the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (more commonly known as the Mormon Church) (ibid., pp. xxiv-xxv).

After the morning church service people get ready to go to work. However not everyone on Weno has found employment; the unemployment rate is about 37 percent. Therefore most families also provide for themselves with some small agriculture and fishing, next to cash income. The produce of this labour is mostly used for private consumption within the family, but some of the crops and fish are sold on the local market. The part of the population that does have a job is usually employed in the government or local businesses. Even if people have a job the cash income it yields is often not high. The base salary for unskilled jobs is around 1 US dollar per hour and on Weno the average income per year is about 4.700 US dollars. Because expenses like electricity and food are not cheap this money usually doesn't last very long and few families live wealthy lives (Chuuk Branch Statistics Office, 2002, pp. xxv-xxvi).

After the workday is over the people return home and the women start preparing food for the family either on open fires or on a small petrol or electrical stove. Traditionally Chuukese people would eat fish and local crops, as they still do at times. However they have also started to buy more of their food in grocery stores. Today many families mostly eat white rice, meat, ramen noodles, eggs, white bread, canned fish and other imported foods. They eat few vegetables and consume a lot of sugar and fatty meats which has led many people to be obese and diabetic. Even though modern healthcare has been prevalent on the island and there is a hospital, the average life expectancy at birth is around 66 years old (ibid, p. 46). Healthcare has improved however compared to the past and the death rate has dropped, and since fertility was, and still is, quite high the population of Chuuk grew fast during the last couple of decades (Chuuk Branch Statistics Office, 2002, p. xxiv). This has led to a

population in which almost half of the population is 18 years or younger. Therefore youths form an important part of the population. Most families have a lot of children; families with eight or more children are not exceptional. Mostly they speak Chuukese within the family but a large part of the population also speaks English as a second language, which they are taught in school. The American administration introduced modern-style education, but the level of education of the population is lower than is desirable. In the year 2000 17,8 percent of the population of Chuuk, ages 25 and older, did not complete any level of schooling and a large part of the population only completed elementary school (Chuuk Branch Statistics Office, 2002, pp. xxv). Schools in Chuuk have to deal with many problems. Teachers told me that some parents neglect to persuade their children to go to school and students often are not motivated to attend school. Another problem that these schools face is that teachers frequently neglect to come to work and are in some cases not qualified for teaching. These problems often result in the education levels on schools being too low. In some of the high schools students are getting taught knowledge they should have learned in elementary schools and after high school youths often have not gained the required knowledge to function at college level. Furthermore the College of Micronesia in Chuuk only offers a very limited selection of courses. This is one of the reasons people migrate to other places.

The Chuukese youths are rapidly adapting to Western lifestyles. They have cell phones, they use the internet, and listen to hip-hop music. Some girls have now started to wear jeans but since traditionally thighs and buttocks should not be accentuated, most girls still wear long skirts. Boys wear hip-hop clothing such as baggy trousers and t-shirts, hats and sneakers. In their free time they play basketball and volleyball and spend their time at home since there are few other activities youths can do. The daily routine is different in the weekends when the family usually just relaxes and spends time together. Overall the living environment on Weno might be different from where I come from but their lives have similar routines.

2.2 Methods of research

The research I have been doing for three months in Chuuk has a qualitative nature. This means that the emphasis of the research is placed on the opinions, categories and concepts of the people involved. The data I have collected therefore voice the perspectives of the informants (Wester & Peters, 2004, p. 17). Qualitative research has an open character which means that there is always room for the perspectives that rise during the research (ibid, p. 31). Since the methods and techniques used in qualitative research can be hard to trace it is important to make a detailed and accurate description of these methods to enhance the reliability of the research (ibid, p. 192). Therefore this paragraph is dedicated to the methods I used in my research. First I explain how I selected my informants. Then I discuss the methods that I used to obtain my data, namely interviewing and participant observation. After that I describe how I analysed my data and the choices I made in the description of my results.

2.2.1 Selection of informants

The students I interviewed during my research attend four different schools, namely the College of Micronesia (COM), the Xavier High School, the Land Grant Division of COM and the Chuuk High school. At these schools I looked for students with more advanced English language skills to insure that the youths would understand my questions well enough and would be able to express themselves clearly, since I wanted to do my interviews in English. At the COM and Chuuk High School I introduced myself and the purpose of my research in some classes. I invited them to come see me after class to make an appointment for an interview. At first I got no response. One of the teachers explained to me that they might be too shy to ask questions. At her suggestion I made a timesheet on which students could fill in their names in the timeslots when they were available. In total I interviewed eight people at the College of Micronesia; four boys and four girls. I wanted to include an equal number of boys and girls in my sample because I presumed that gender might be of influence on the expectations and ambitions for the future that the adolescents have. I also interviewed a girl who was enrolled at the University of Guam but was visiting her family in whose apartment building I was living.

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The second school I visited was the Xavier High School. I chose to go to this school because it is the best school in Chuuk and is considered one of the best schools in Micronesia. I expected the plans of the adolescents to be affected by the level of schooling they were receiving and thus I decided to interview students at higher levels (like the COM and Xavier High) and students at lower levels of schooling (like the Land Grant division of COM and Chuuk High). Xavier High School educates youths from all states in Micronesia. Since I wanted to learn more about the ambitions of Chuukese adolescents, I chose to interview the Chuukese students only. The director of Xavier High suggested interviewing the Chuukese students in the last grade of high school – a suggestion I found very relevant since their English would be better than that of students from the first years. Also since they are leaving school after graduation I figured they already made plans to further their education and therefore would have more detailed plans for the future than youths from the lower grades. There were nine Chuukese students in the last grade at Xavier, five boys and four girls, all of whom I interviewed.

The third school I visited was the Land Grant division of the College of Micronesia. This is a school that offers a program for high school drop-outs. I chose to interview high school drop-outs, because this is a group of youths that have clearly faced difficulties in school. These difficulties may have caused them to think differently about their future. I did not select the informants on this school. The youth counsellors of the school selected youths who spoke English relatively well. Since these youths dropped out they do not always speak English well enough to do an interview in English, in which case I used a translator. The fact that I mostly interviewed people with good English language skills did not affect my results since the students with less English language skills I interviewed did not answer profoundly different from students with more language skills.

The last school I visited was the Chuuk High School, one of the biggest public schools in the Federated States of Micronesia. Some students I selected here came for classes in which I introduced myself and some students were suggested by teachers because they spoke English well. One informant was a friend of a previous informant. I selected her because she told me she was adopted. I had interviewed some adopted

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youths before and their answers were different from the answers of other youths, so I decided it would benefit my research to select another adoptee. In total I interviewed four boys and five girls at Chuuk High because this would bring to the number of interviewees to a total of 34 with an equal number of boys and girls (see tables 2 and 3 in Appendix I).

During the selection of my informants I paid attention to age, but I did not restrict myself to a rigid age limit. All the informants I spoke to were between the ages of 14 and 25. A couple of students that I interviewed were aged above the maximum of 20 years that I had imagined for my sample. I chose to include them in my sample anyway because these people seemed to be viewed as youths because they were still in school. I interviewed two informants who, I found out during the interview, did not consider themselves Chuukese; one was from the island of Pohnpei and one was half Chuukese and half Yapese but considered herself to be mostly Yapese. Nevertheless I included them into my sample to be able to compare their answers to the answers of the Chuukese students I interviewed.

Before starting my research I imagined finding most of my informants through ‘snowball sampling’. This implies asking informants you talk to if they could introduce you to other possible informants (’t Hart, van Dijk, de Goede, Jansen & Teunissen, 2003, p. 238). This however only happened once when I came in contact with a friend of a previous informant. Mostly I selected my informants through ‘theoretical sampling’. This means that when I happened to find some interesting features about a person that could be of influence in my research, I went looking for informants with similar characteristics to confirm, sharpen or correct previous results (Wester & Peters, 2004, p. 25). I did this in my research when selecting according to different levels of education, gender and adoption because these could be of influence on a person’s expectations and ambitions for the future. Through theoretical sampling I assessed which sort of informants I needed to answer my research question more completely. This method also ensured that I was able to compare the information I got from previous informants to answers given by similar informants. This could tell me whether or not the information I found was exceptional and therefore enhanced the validity of my research.

2.2.2 The collection of data: Interviews

The most important method I used during my research was interviewing. I used the semi-structured interview in which an interview guide is used. This interviewguide contains questions that should be discussed during the interview and the order in which these questions should be asked. The reason I chose to work with an interview guide is that the informant has the opportunity to answer as freely as possible, since the informant is not being restricted by a selection of possible answers, like in a survey. Another advantage is that an interview guide is flexible. It is not necessary to stick to the order of the guide if the conversation takes a different course. The guide is mostly used to remember everything that needs to be asked. The interview guide also makes sure that roughly the same questions are being asked in every interview to make it possible to compare answers of different informants (Heldens & Reysoo, 2005, pp. 106-108). This enhances the reliability of my data.

I designed an interview guide for my interviews prior to departure, but was aware of the fact that it would need to be adjusted to be able to explore the subjects in my interviewguide more deeply and more extensively (Heldens & Reysoo, 2005, p. 110). I continuously made small adjustments to my guide when I noticed during interviews that some questions were missing. I made some bigger adjustments after finishing my interviews at the first two schools. I took a two week break from interviewing because I wanted to take the time to reflect on what I had done up until then. I decided to add some new subjects because they might benefit my research¹. The subjects that I added I had not discussed in my first 18 interviews. After doing all of the interviews I therefore decided to return to the COM and to the Xavier High School to talk to my informants about these new subjects to be able to compare all of my informants' answers. Eventually I was able to do 17 second interviews. I wasn't able to talk to one informant because he was on another island at that time.

The interviews usually went well. One of the problems I encountered at first was that youths missed their appointments for interviews. I solved this problem by being clearer about time, date and place when making an appointment and planning them only a day or two ahead. A second problem was that English language skills

¹ A final version of my interviewguide is attached in Appendix II.

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were sometimes lacking. Most of my informants spoke and understood English well enough to do an interview, but at times I interviewed students that were having problems understanding my questions. In these cases I tried to rephrase the question. Sometimes they had problems expressing themselves in English. In those cases I tried to summarize what I thought the informant had told me and asked if I had understood correctly. I also did this when I was interpreting what had been said by the informant in the interview. This way I ensured that my interpretations were correct and this enhanced the reliability of my research. In five interviews I had to use a translator. Four times I used employees of the school as translators, and once I used a student to translate. I preferred not to use a translator because I was not always sure whether or not my questions were being translated literally, even though I had instructed the translator to do so. I also was not sure that the informants' answers were being translated correctly. Sometimes the translators had difficulties finding the right words and at times I also noticed that the translator was trying to help the informant to answer the questions by giving possible answers. Overall however I think that the translators were able to translate the informants' answers well enough to use them as data.

When possible I did the interview on a location where there was not too much noise and that offered a bit of privacy to the informant since some of the subjects I talked about, such as dating and marriage, were a little sensitive. I tried to find a place where other people would not interrupt us and where the informant would not get distracted by the surroundings. This was however not always possible, so I sometimes had to do the interview in a place where other people could hear us. This may have caused some awkwardness for the informants and this might have influenced their answers. Undoubtedly I myself have also influenced the answers of the youths by the questions I asked and my personal characteristics². I recorded all of my interviews after having asked consent from my informants. The interviews usually took between an hour and an hour and a half. When using a translator the interviews took double that time. The second interviews usually took one hour. In total I did 34 first interviews

² A reflection on my influence on the youths' answers is included in Appendix III.

and 17 second interviews. After the interview I listened to the recording and literally typed out everything that was being said on the recording in a Word document. After each interview I wrote up a memo in which I reflected on how the interview went and the conditions in which the interview was held. I also made profile memos on every informant in which I briefly summarized their answers. This gave me the opportunity to quickly compare different informants. I also documented every choice I made concerning my research in so called method memos. This made it possible for me and others to trace back every step I made during my research and this enhances the reliability of my research. Next to methods memos and profile memos I also documented notes on my results relating to theory and literature in so called theory memos. These memos I stored in a computer program called Kwalitan. This is a program to organize and analyse qualitative data. I also organized the transcripts of my interviews in this program.

2.2.3 Data collection: observation

Next to interviews observation was an important method that I used in my research, though it was less important than the interviews. By using both methods I am achieving 'triangulation' in my research. This means that the limitations of the first method are being completed by the second method and vice versa (Wester & Peters, 2004, p. 51). Observations are used to find out what people do, and interviews are used to gather data about what people say. With interviews there is a discrepancy between what people say and what people do and observation can minimize this discrepancy. But since it is impossible to tell from observations what kind of expectations and ambitions youths in Chuuk have for the future, the data I obtained through observation were not directly useful in answering my research question. Nonetheless observation has been important in putting together an image of the world that the youths in Chuuk grow up in, and this may affect the choices they make for the future. The two methods therefore complete each other in painting the whole picture, and this has minimized the errors in my data, which enhanced the validity of my research.

In the first week of my stay on Weno I was not able to do interviews yet, so I decided to use my time doing observations in places where adolescents were around.

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The observations that I did were participatory, which means that I was observing the surroundings and the people in it, but I was at the same time participating in that same social context (Wester en Peters, 2004, p. 52). The first places where I observed were on school grounds and the classrooms, where I watched how the adolescents interacted with each other, how they were taught, how they behaved in class and anything else that caught my eye. I also did participating observation in Chuukese daily life. I did this every day, but mostly during the last six weeks of my stay in Chuuk when I was living with a Chuukese family. Living with that family let me experience how a lot of youths in Chuuk live. I also observed during special events and gatherings like church services and other church related events such as the 27th anniversary of the Catholic parish, a wedding and several funerals. Although these events are not directly linked to answering my research question I feel it was none the less useful to observe them. These observations served several purposes. First this gave me the opportunity to mix with the group that I was researching and that way I was able to get into contact with the youths. Observations also made it possible to engage in informal conversations with potential informants. A third result of my “participant observation” was that I gathered information on the environment that the Chuukese adolescents live in. By getting to know their living conditions I was able to put the choices, expectations and ambitions of the youths in context of their living conditions and their social environment.

Everything I noticed while doing participant observation I quickly jotted down in a small notebook. I later worked up these field notes into more elaborate notes in a word document and stored them in the computer program Kwalitan, where I ranked them by date in order to be able to retrieve these notes quickly. The data I obtained with participant observation I used mostly as background information.

2.2.4 Methods of analysis

As previously mentioned I collected all my data and memos in a computer program called Kwalitan. The interviews that I transcribed literally in a Word document, I divided into segments, and these were stored in Kwalitan. There I connected codes to these segments that described what the segment was about. I analysed my data in

Kwalitan through the Grounded Theory Method. One of the starting points of this method is that the research is not being done based on a certain theory that is being tested in the field of research. Instead the approach of this method is to gather data and from that data generate important concepts. Beforehand the researcher does formulate some 'sensitizing concepts'. These concepts arise out of the presumptions that the researcher has on matters that could be of relevance in the research (Wester & Peters, 2004, p. 24). I too thought of some sensitizing concepts before departure ³ and I checked if these presumptions were correct by analysing my results. Kwalitan was designed on the Grounded Theory Method and therefore I used both (ibid. p. 77).

During the beginning of my analysis I used Kwalitan because it provided a good method of organizing my data, and attaching codes to the segments was a good way of getting to know my data in an early stage of analysis. However dividing the interviews into segments and attaching codes to these segments is a very time consuming process. Since I had little time to analyse my data and write this thesis I decided not to analyse all of my data in this way. The method I used later consists of making summaries of all the interviews I held and entering the answers of every informant into a matrix using Excel. In every row I placed the answers of one informant and in the columns I specified the questions⁴. This made it easier for me to compare the answers of all the informants. When analysing each question I counted the number of times a certain answer was mentioned and also noted the number of times an answer was given by a boy or girl, and which school the informants attend. By doing this I was able to compare answers of informants based on gender and the level of education. I only compared the informants on the basis of gender and level of education because these are the only variables according to which their answers seemed to differ. Since all my informants were around the same age, this was not a variable according to which answers differed from each other.

As mentioned in paragraph 2.2.1 I interviewed two adolescents who do not consider themselves to be Chuukese. Anna is half Yapese and half Chuukese but grew up in Yap and John is Pohnpeian but spent his high school years in Chuuk at the

³ My sensitizing concepts are attached in Appendix V, including a reflection on the reality of these presumptions.

⁴ A selection of this matrix is attached in Appendix VI. It includes general information on the informants.

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Xavier High School. I decided to use the interviews of both youths in my analysis only in the cases where their answers did not seem to differ from the Chuukese youths. Since I interviewed John when he was a student at the College of Micronesia I analysed his answers as being part of that school. There was one youth, Sita, who had just graduated from Xavier High School and afterwards spent two months studying at the University of Guam. She had to return to Chuuk because her father died. Since she was very recently a student at Xavier, I decided to analyse her interview as if she was still a Xavier student, to be able to compare her answers on the basis of level of education. I did not consider her a college student like the students at the College of Micronesia in Chuuk because the latter have been in college for a longer period of time.

The results of this analysis I discuss in chapters three to five. When describing my results I often use citations of the Chuukese youths themselves, since I feel they best describe what they want for their future. Sometimes the grammar used by the adolescents is not correct. I however did not correct their citations because I felt it best to leave their vernacular intact. Also the names of the informants used in this thesis have been changed to protect the privacy of the informants. My research naturally has some limitations, as most research does. Understanding of these limitations is necessary in order to interpret my results more accurately. However it would be too extensive to discuss this matter here therefore I refer to Appendix IV for further reading. I will now continue with the third chapter about the results of my research concerning education and employment.

Today the Future is Made



Figure 3: A classroom at Chuuk High School

CHAPTER 3

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

This chapter deals with the results of my research on the subjects of education and employment which will be discussed in separate paragraphs, although they are closely intertwined. In these paragraphs I will describe my results and connect these results to the available literature on the matters discussed. Since education comes chronologically prior to employment, this subject will be discussed first.

3.1 Chuukese adolescents and their future education

The modernisation process has made education more important in the lives of the inhabitants of Chuuk. Nowadays a good education is almost vital to functioning in society. To the youths on Weno education plays an important part in the plans they have for their future. In this paragraph I describe the plans of 34 of these Chuukese youths regarding their education and how they intend to realize their plans. In order to have a proper understanding of these results, a short introduction to the education system in Chuuk and the schools I visited is necessary. Following that introduction I describe the choices in schooling the adolescents intend to make in the future and what factors play an important role in these decisions. After that I explain more about the realization of the ambitions the youths have for their education and which problems they foresee. In doing this I will answer the first research questions mentioned in paragraph 1.3, namely: What expectations and ambitions do adolescents have concerning education? Where and how do they intend to get the education they want?

3.1.1 Education on Weno; a short introduction

As mentioned in paragraph 2.1 modern style education was introduced in Chuuk during the Japanese but especially during the American administration. The education in Chuuk is therefore organised the way this is done in the US. First the children go to elementary schools where they attend the first grade to the fifth grade. Most children start first grade at the age of six. These first five years of education are referred to as

primary school. Secondary school starts at the sixth grade and ends with twelfth grade.¹ The sixth, seventh and eighth grade are called middle school in which children in Chuuk are expected to be enrolled in until around the age of thirteen. In Weno these grades used to be taught in schools separate from elementary schools, but are now taught in the elementary schools. The ninth through twelfth grades (also successively called Freshmen, Sophomore, Junior and Senior) are taught in a separate high schools. Enrolment in these grades is expected for the population aged 14 to 17 (Chuuk Branch Statistics Office, 2002, p. 67). After completion the students get a high school diploma, which is required if students want to continue their education at a college or university. There is a small campus of the College of Micronesia situated on Weno, but this college offer only a limited number of course and thus most youths attend college or university outside of Chuuk. At a college or university a student must first attend undergraduate school, where at some students can obtain a two-year degree, called an associate degree (or AS degree), and continue with two more years for a bachelors degree (or BA degree). These degrees can be obtained in different courses of studies called majors. After finishing a BA degree a student can choose to continue his or her education even further by getting a master's degree (or MA degree) and this usually takes two more years. After a master's degree a student can further his or her education by pursuing a doctor's degree (or PhD degree), which takes another three to six years.²

Before continuing this introduction, I need to clarify my use of the word 'school', which can have several meanings. In this thesis I will most used this word to refer to the institutions I visited. These four schools I visited all have different characteristics which I will elaborate on because this will help understand the results of my research. First it is important to understand that the level of education in Chuuk is often a bit low, though the highest achieved education of the inhabitants of Chuuk has increased over the years. The percentage of people that has received no schooling has decreased and more people get high educations. In the year 2000 however in the population aged 25 and older 17.8 percent still had received no schooling, 33.7 percent

¹ <http://www.usastudyguide.com/overview.htm>

² <http://www.usastudyguide.com/overview.htm>

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had finished elementary and 34.1 percent had finished high school. Only 13.7 percent of the population aged 25 and older had finished a college degree of which 6.4 percent had finished an AS degree, 2.1 percent a BA degree and only 0.4 percent of the population had finished a master's or PhD degree (ibid. pp. 68-69). Overall the attendance in schooling has increased over the years, but there is still a large proportion of the population that drops out of school just before or in high school (ibid. pp. 72-73). After the age of 15 or 16 the number of students enrolled in school drops significantly. This is usually when people graduate from middle school or when they just enter high school (ibid. 2002, pp. 64-65).

Because many youths drop out of high school in Chuuk, I visited a program for high school drop-outs at the Land Grant Division of the College of Micronesia (Land Grant). This school offers several programs for high school drop-outs, such as a sewing and small business class, and a Youth-at-Risk program which helps high school drop-outs to return to high schools to finish their education. I visited this last program in which the students were taught some English, math, social studies and instructions on food safety and HIV in a small classroom. The level of education is low in this program because the students dropped out in different levels of high school or right after middle school.

Another school that has a relatively low level of education is the Chuuk High School, which I also visited. This is one of the largest public high schools on the island, with about 700 students. There is a difference between public high schools such as Chuuk High School and private high schools, such as Xavier High School or Saramen Chuuk High School. A private school in Chuuk is a school that is being funded by a religious organisation or other private groups. Public schools are being funded by Chuuk state or the FSM government. A big difference between these schools is that public schools are free of tuition and private schools charge tuition fees. The tuition fee lies between a couple of hundred dollars to over a thousand dollars a year and is therefore not high compared to tuition fees in the US. But since the average family on Weno makes 4700 US dollars a year, tuition can be a burden (Chuuk Branch Statistics Office, 2002, pp. xxv-xxvi). Since private high school receive funding from students and religious organisations they can usually offer better facilities to their students.

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Public schools have fewer resources than private schools and therefore have a lack of school materials and facilities like drinking water and electricity.

I also visited the Xavier High School, a private high school that is being run by the Jesuit mission. Catholic volunteers, mostly college graduates, from America, Australia, Japan and Indonesia come to this school for one or two years to teach. Xavier is considered to be one of the best schools in Micronesia and they teach students from all around Micronesia which is why the primary language spoken on campus is English. The boys that attend Xavier live in a dorm on campus all year. The girls get assigned to sponsor families around the island and are picked up by a school bus every morning.

Another school that is considered one of the best schools on the island simply because it is a college and attending it requires passing an entrance test, is the Chuuk Campus of the College of Micronesia (COM). The COM has a small campus on Weno and offers some courses in business and computer, education and social science, English, math and science and these courses are taught in English. The only degree that was available at the time I visited the school was an AS degree in Education. For degrees in other majors or higher degrees students have to go to college outside the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) or at the COM campus in Pohnpei, one of the other states of the FSM, which is about 45 minutes away by plane.

A difference between the schools with a lower level of education, Land Grant and Chuuk High School, and schools with a higher level of education, Xavier High School and COM, is that at the latter the students are taught in English while at the former the students are being taught in Chuukese. I indicate the Xavier High School as a school with a high level of education because it is considered to be one of the best schools in Micronesia and because student at this school perform better than most students, especially compared to students at public high schools. Usually private schools perform better than public schools (Chuuk Branch Statistics Office, 2002, p. 63). This is partly caused by the entrance tests most of these private schools have which allows these schools to only admit the best-prepared students.

The performance of students at public schools and private schools can be assessed with the entrance test for the College of Micronesia (COM). In theory

completing high school should prepare the youths well enough to be able to participate at college level and this is what the COM entrance test assesses. Many high school graduates however do not pass this test. At the Chuuk High School, the public high school I visited, only five percent of the students passed the COM entrance test in 2000 compared to 56 percent in private high schools. The students at Xavier High School perform even better on the test than most private schools do, with about 85 percent of its students passing (Hezel, 2001b, pp. 14-15). This shows that the level of education at both schools differs greatly. I chose to go to the four schools mentioned above, because I hoped to find out if there are any differences in the expectations and ambitions of students that are related to the level of schooling they receive.

3.1.2 The adolescents' plans to continue their education

The adolescents I interviewed all have plans for their future education. In this paragraph I describe these plans starting with which school they choose to go to and the reason they have for choosing that school. Then I describe the youths' plans for residence during their future education followed by their choice of major and the reason for choosing that major.

Choosing a school

Since the school the adolescents are enrolled in might influence where they end up in the future I first wanted to know why the adolescents chose to come to the school they are currently attending. At the Land Grant division of the College of Micronesia (in future called Land Grant) the reason the students participate in the high school drop-out program is that they want to re-enter high school after dropping out. There are several reasons the students had for dropping out. One reason is money, as is the case with Cindy: 'my grandma is the one she pay me in the school. Then my grandma just kick out of her job and then I kick out too because no one was there to pay for books and pencils.' Other reasons for dropping out are being bullied in school, but especially being absent, as is the case with Seferino. He used to live on one of the other islands in the lagoon called Tol, where he attended high school. He was absent a lot because 'the high school it is far from my place. So I was lazy to walk from my place to there, to

school. It takes two hours.’ But now he attends Land Grant because ‘I was lazy for staying at the house. I don’t have anything to do at home. So that’s why I want to re-attend.’

This statement is consistent with the results that were found during a research that was conducted by the Pacific Region Educational Laboratory (PREL) in 1995 among 50 students, their parents and their schools to find out what variables play a factor in students being at risk to drop out. Their findings showed that students are at risk for dropping out if they have behavioural problems and school attitude problems. Other factors that make students more at risk of dropping out are having divorced parents or having a bad relation with family. The factor that appeared the strongest however was absenteeism (Kawakami, 1995, pp. 8-15), as is the case in my research.

After Land Grant the students want to continue their education, as did all of the adolescents. When discussing the future of their education, none of youths seemed to consider not continuing their schooling. The first school that the students at Land Grant want to attend is a public high school. The reason for picking a public high school over a private high school is usually money. This was also the reason why the students that are already attending Chuuk High School chose to come to that school, as Arthur explained: ‘Cause it is public school. I don’t have to raise money cause we don’t have enough money to pay for school and stuff like that so I choose Chuuk High because it is easier.’ Another reason to choose a public high school, like Chuuk High School, is that private schools require entrance tests. Not being able to pass these tests makes adolescents attend a public school were such a test is not required for entry, as was the case with Kamy: ‘I really wanted to attend Xavier and Saramen Chuuk but I didn’t pass the test so I just came here.’ For Kamy a public school seems to be a second choice since he wasn’t able to attend the school of his first choice.

The reasons adolescents have for attending the College of Micronesia also indicate that this was usually not the school of their first choice. Gina mentioned she has too little money to go anywhere else for school. Family issues can also keep students in Chuuk. Rex mentioned that he didn’t want to leave his widowed mother: ‘no one is there for my mom so I have to live with her.’ Joseph was already studying in Pohnpei at the National Campus of the College of Micronesia, but his family needed

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him to return to Chuuk and take care of his sister and other family members. Like Joseph five out of eight students at COM had already been to school abroad, either in high school or college. For four of them the reason to return to Chuuk to attend college was that they had gotten homesick and wanted to be with their family again. Lidy explained: 'I was in Hawaii but then I wasn't used to the life there, it was too busy and all. I missed home so I came back.' Since COM is a small college that only offers one kind of degree, many students thought of their time at this school as temporary like Jody does: 'I decided to come back here and then maybe trying to get my AS from here and then go back.'

Although five adolescents are planning to attend COM Chuuk Campus after high school, most of the adolescents prefer to travel outside of Chuuk for their education. The destination for attending college that was mentioned most is The United States of America, mostly referred to as 'the States' or 'the mainland'. After that Hawaii was mentioned followed by the island of Guam, and Pohnpei, where the biggest campus of the College of Micronesia, also referred to as National Campus, is found. Least mentioned was the Chuuk Campus of the College of Micronesia. The students usually mentioned Hawaii as a separate destination from the US, although it is one of its states. However Hawaii is a five hour flight away from the US and therefore closer to the FSM than other destinations in the US. Also Hawaii is part of the Pacific, like Micronesia. All of these factors cause most Chuukese people to view Hawaii as a separate destination from the US as did my informants, and therefore I decided to use this category as well.

There are differences in how many times these destinations are mentioned by adolescents from different schools. Xavier students for instance mostly want to go to the US or Hawaii. They never mentioned wanting to continue their education at COM Chuuk and only Vincent named COM Pohnpei as a possible destination. Sita explained why: 'Everybody knows that we should aim higher, that is what they expect us to do.' COM Pohnpei, Guam, Hawaii and the US are mentioned almost the same number of times by students at COM Chuuk. At Chuuk High School and Land Grant more students want to continue their education in Pohnpei or at COM Chuuk than in Guam, Hawaii or the US. This suggests that at schools with a lower level of education,

students choose to go to schools that are nearer to home. The choice of school that Xavier students suggest that students in higher levels of education want to go to schools further away from home in the States or Hawaii. Most adolescents however do not plan on going far from home right after high school. Only five students I spoke to want their first school after high school to be in the States, but most students will start a little bit nearer to home and some would like to continue in the States.

There are also some differences between boys and girls in their answers on where they would like to continue their education. Boys seem to mention Pohnpei, Guam and the States more than girls do (table 4). But the boys also kept more options open than the girls did. The boys in my interviews usually named two or three destinations where they would try to go to school while girls usually named one or two (table 5). This indicates that the boys are less sure of where they might go to college than the girls, though I am not sure what caused this.

Travelling abroad for school is mainly done because ‘they just have better education there then they have here’, in the words of Manny. Another reason for travelling away from Chuuk for school, next to getting a better education, is to get to know other places. Sharleen clarified: ‘I want to see like the different kinds of people and places. Second I also want to experience the difference ...between here and there.’ The States especially seem to have a certain attraction, as Sera mentioned: ‘I have never been to the States. I just want to experience the life I have seen in movies and stuff.’ Marilyn wants to study in Las Vegas because ‘...it is a famous place and I wanna learn more about big cities... Most millionaire people live there and there is a lot of stuff there, like casinos and all the fancy things.’

When choosing a specific school, either abroad or in Chuuk, there are several factors that are important in the student’s choice. These factors were expressed at roughly an equal number at every school and the answers were mostly the same for boys and girls. As mentioned before, money can be an issue. Sotonio said that if he would not have money for a ticket to attend school somewhere else he will just stay in Chuuk and go to the COM. Money can however also be a reason to go a school abroad. Some schools in Australia and China offer full scholarships to Micronesian students. Wendy said that ‘if I get the scholarship that is also an option because I don’t

have to worry about money then.’ Another issue that can make a student decide to go to a certain college or university is that friends already go there.

Another factor is the location the school has in relation to home. Although all adolescents want to travel abroad for school most of them prefer to stay relatively close to home at first. Being close to home is important because that way adolescents can more easily visit their family in Chuuk. Jody said: ‘I will probably be back for the breaks and stuff... That is if I can be, I have the money, I would come back.’ Many students want to take the time to adjust to being away from home. Joseph explains why he would first like to go to Pohnpei and later somewhere else:

‘I don’t think I am really ready for the outside schools like the mainland or Hawaii, stuff like that. So I think what I am doing is step by step. So here to the community college then off to another college close to my home, which is kind of ok cause I am used to the life... but going somewhere you have never been to it is gotta be hard so I am taking it step by step.’

Starting near to home is also the reason why some youths want to start their education in Chuuk. Pauline furthermore felt she needs more basic knowledge of English and math before attending college outside of Chuuk: ‘I need to get the other subjects that I need in college’.

The most important reason, mentioned eighteen times, for choosing a specific place to go to school is that the students already have family members present at a certain destination. Many youths will live with their family so they can support and help them when they first arrive. Stephen explained:

‘Those choices I picked them because I have relatives there, so I can communicate with them and have some kind of relationship with them so I won’t get lost... I don’t travel that much so it is going to be my first time.’

Stephen's statement shows that family is an important source of information when moving abroad. They will show him around and help him when he first arrives. Like many of the youths, Stephen has not travelled abroad yet, so his family will inform him about life in the States. Since the adolescents have not travelled abroad before they are often ill prepared for what life is like in the States or other destinations. Family is often the only source of information for the adolescents and this is not enough to prepare the adolescents sufficiently for their future abroad (Kohler & Samuel, 2002, pp. 4-5).

Where to live during education abroad

When moving abroad for schooling the students have three different options when it comes to residence. The youths mentioned they could live with family members, stay in dorms or have an apartment of their own. These last two options I group together because both of them imply living away from family. Living alone or with family both have some advantages and disadvantages. When living with family, which 21 of the adolescents consider a good option (see table 6), they can live with immediate family, as in parents or brothers and sisters, or extended family members, such as uncles, aunts, cousins and grandparents. Staying with a family can be very helpful, especially when first arriving. Jimmy explained: 'I would feel more comfortable. They will give me some advice on what to do, since they have been in Hawaii longer than I have. And when I needed some resources they would know where to get resources, like money.' Another advantage of living with family is that they keep an eye on their family members. Rex said that 'if you stay like around the family they will be talking to you, pushing you to study. But if you live like away by yourself, you are pretty much gonna do whatever you want.' Frandy mentioned another advantage of living with his mom's cousin: 'He care for me about problems like drugs and alcoholic and marijuana, he can take care for that I can't touch it.' The disadvantages of living with family are that family can be distracting as Hanson explained: 'if I will stay with the relatives, I will not concentrate on studies because I will just go around with the boys.' Gina does not want to stay with her family because she fears she would have too little time left to study: 'because I will be doing chores and that.'

Eighteen youths prefer to living in dorms or in their own apartment. One of the reasons they would prefer this is that it will be easier to concentrate there. Dorms will also be fun to live in according to Eriko: '...I think it is fun. You know when you meet new friends...' A dorm is also preferred by some of the youths, like Sera, because: 'I want to experience the college life and try to be independent, cause I think that if I stay at home I am going to be asking too much questions from my dad and stuff.' The independence of a life away from home offers the adolescents some freedom. Joseph has already been to college in Pohnpei and stayed in dorms there: 'I liked it. It was a new experience and it is a freedom. You get to do whatever you want without parents

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telling you what to do; you are on your own.’ A last advantage of living in a dorm according to Jimmy is that: ‘if I was to stay on campus in the dormitories, it may be easier. I may get some help with the administration and it might be cheaper and access to resources like professors or computers. There is just easy access.’ However living in dorms also has some downsides. Sita, who has already studied briefly at the University of Guam, explained:

‘In Guam there are too many distractions there at the dorm, every night. They drink, party. But I think that the party thing also applies to the dorm in Hawaii too, but I am not sure. I felt safer living with my family when I was in Guam...They just party and I don’t like it. If I go to the dorm I don’t feel at home I don’t think that I can survive there with people walking around partying.’

Next to the distractions and the inability to concentrate in a dorm Mike perceives another disadvantage: ‘I don’t like the dorms. I don’t want to be homesick. That’s the problem up there if you stay there, you will get homesick.’ Eriko said that if he lives with his family: ‘I won’t get homesick and all that.’ In dorms he might get homesick: ‘that is if I don’t get friends and all that, to talk to.’ Friends therefore might help him to feel less homesick.

Over all a few more adolescents would like to stay with family than in dorms. This shows that family is an important resource of information, money and other support to the youths. This is even true for the youths who would prefer to live in dorms as Ariana explained: ‘I want to live in the dorms, but I also have some relatives like for backup.’ There is however a difference between the schools. Youths at Xavier High School and at the COM more often prefer dorms while the youths at Chuuk High and Land Grant more often prefer to live with family (see table 6). This suggests that youths at higher levels of education prefer to live more independently while youths at lower levels of education rely more on family.

Choosing a major

When in college, the adolescents can choose to study many different majors. However the number of majors the adolescents want to study is limited. There are several majors that are popular among the youths (see table 7). A popular major among both girls and boys is law, mentioned twelve times in total. Reasons for studying law are

that they like arguing and like helping people. Three youths that aspire to be lawyers hope to be the first lawyer in their family or community so they can help them. Three of them also want to help the government get the ‘bad guys’ and make sure laws are enforced more. Money is however also an issue as Ariana explained: ‘first of all I would like to help my community if they have like a trial or a complaint filed for them and... I want to be rich, very rich.’

The most popular major among the adolescents is business. A reason for picking that major is that it is useful, as Pauline explained: ‘Because I know that business is an important thing at this island in Chuuk and cause I would like to be rich people.’ Money is therefore also a motivator for this major. Some of the adolescents I interviewed have a family that have a business and for them taking over this business or working in it is a reason for that major. Another very popular major is education. This major is mostly chosen because the youths want to help children in Chuuk or in their own communities as Antia explained: ‘because I wanna help some students.’ Another reason for studying education can be the lack of other options at the COM Chuuk like is the case with Sotonio: ‘I would settle for education if I don’t find or have the means to go where I want to go for law.’

Other majors that the adolescents I interviewed would like to do are psychology, marine biology, astronomy, political science and computer engineering. All of these majors are chosen out of personal interest. A big difference between boys and girls is that none of the boys mentioned wanting to do a medical major like becoming a doctor or nurse, while there were four girls who wanted to do this. The reasons these girls had for wanting to become a doctor are taking care of people and the lack of good medical care in Chuuk as Sharleen mentioned: ‘I have a grandfather and I don’t like what he [the doctor] do for him. That makes me want to work hard to become a doctor.’ Over all there are several categories of reasons that are important when choosing a certain major, namely helping others, their own interests, fame and money and practical reasons. The choice of major is in many cases connected to the choice of occupation of these youths and the categories of reasons just mentioned are also present when choosing a certain occupation. Therefore I will explain in more detail why these youths choose certain majors and jobs in paragraph 3.2.1.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the results of my interviews with the adolescents show that every single one of them wants a good education, even if they dropped out of high school before because of absenteeism or lack of motivation in school. Since private high schools usually offer better education these are preferred. Most youths however go to public high schools, like Chuuk High School, because they do not charge tuition fees and students do not have to pass an entrance test to be accepted in these schools. Reasons for attending the College of Micronesia are having a lack of money or because it is hard for the youths to be away from family. However every youth I talked to eventually prefers to not stay in Chuuk for education but travel away to get a better education and to have more choice in majors and degrees. Popular destinations are first of all the US followed by Hawaii, Guam and Pohnpei. Students at lower-level schools like Land Grant tend to prefer colleges that are nearer to Chuuk while the higher educated students at Xavier tend to prefer going to a college or university in Hawaii or the US. Reasons for choosing certain schools are influenced by factors such as where family members are living abroad, if friends are attending a certain school and if there is enough money to travel away and to support the student during school. The adolescents usually choose to stay either with family or in dorms. Which of these places they take residence in is dependent on issues such as money -which family can provide-, concentration -which can be better with family for some but in dorms for others- and wanting to be independent -which living alone offers. Family is also mentioned as an important source of information on what life abroad is like, even though reality has proven this often to be insufficient (Kohler & Samuel, 2002, p. 5). Popular majors among the adolescents are business, law and education. Choosing a certain major is done on basis of personal interests, helping others, money and practical reasons. However the parents of the youths can also be a factor in this process of choosing and this I will discuss in paragraph 3.3.

3.1.3 Realization of ambitions in education

As mentioned in the previous paragraph all adolescents I talked to want to continue their education at a college or university. However actually finishing a college or

university is probably not going to happen for all adolescents since only 6.4 percent of the population aged 25 and over finished an AS degree, 2.1 percent a BA degree and only 0.4 percent finished a master's or PhD degree in Chuuk (Chuuk Branch Statistics office, 2002, pp. 68-69). These low percentages are not caused by highly educated people migrating and living abroad, since research has shown that most highly educated people return, while lower educated people migrate abroad (Hezel & Lightfoot, 2005, p. 6). This suggests that obtaining an AS, BA or MA degree is indeed only feasible for a small percentage of the population. Therefore I inquired about the chances these youths thought they have in actually getting the degree they would like. I also asked them about the problems they would face in realising their aspired education. These topics I discuss in the following paragraph.

The adolescents' chances of obtaining their aspired education

The youths I interviewed are all interested in obtaining a high school diploma first, then an AS degree and after that a BA degree (see table 8). A large number of adolescents, namely 27 out of 34, also expressed an interest in obtaining a master's degree, and this is equal for boys and girls alike. There are some differences between schools when it comes to the number of students who would like to get a master's degree. At the higher levels of education (Xavier and COM), almost all students mentioned wanting a master's degree. At the lower levels of education (Chuuk High and Land Grant) fewer students mentioned this (see table 9). This indicates that students that receive a high education want a higher degree more often.

However there is a difference between wanting to get a degree and actually getting that degree. I therefore asked the adolescents how sure they are of getting the degree they want and if they could I wanted them to estimate a percentage. This was sometimes difficult for the youths since not all of them understood what percentages are. If they were unfamiliar with percentages I asked them if their chance of getting a degree was small, big or somewhere in the middle, and this was usually understood better. I analyse these answers by grouping the youths along their self-reported chance with a scaling of small (which I corresponded with the percentages 10 through 30), middle (40 through 60 percent) and big (70-100 percent).

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When inquiring about their chance of getting a high school degree, almost all youths think their chances to be big. The only adolescents that indicated their chances to be mediocre are students at the Chuuk High School and the Land Grant Division of COM (table 10). This is the same for obtaining an AS degree, where three youths indicate their chance to be lower than 70 percent, and a Land Grant student even thought her chance to be small (table 11). When inquiring about the chances of getting a BA degree, the adolescents get less sure of their chances. Three youths attending Chuuk High and Land Grant feel that their chances of getting that degree are small. Eight more students think they have a middle chance of getting a BA degree. Most students however feel they have a big chance of obtaining a BA degree. This suggests that students from lower levels of education are less sure of getting a BA degree than students at higher levels of education. However at all levels of schooling the majority of the adolescents feel they have a big chance of obtaining a BA degree (table 12).

The higher the degree however the less sure the youths get of obtaining that degree. Out of the 27 students that would like a MA degree only eight think they have a big chance of getting it. Five students feel that they only have a small chance of getting that degree and most of the students that want a MA degree think they only have a middle chance of getting it (table 13). This suggests that most youths are less sure of getting a MA degree than a BA degree, but that many of the youths that want to get a MA degree still feel they have a middle or big chance of that happening. These self-proclaimed chances of obtaining a BA or MA degree are quite high even though statistics indicate that only a very small percentage of the population has a college degree. Also the small percentages of students that pass the COM entrance test indicate that many youths, especially at lower levels of education, do not meet college requirements after finishing high school (Hezel, 2001b, pp. 14-15). Though most adolescents I interviewed feel they will be able to attend college, some of them might not. This suggests that it is hard for the adolescents to assess their abilities and what level of education would be suitable for them. Also the youths are not aware of how many people in reality get a BA or MA degree. This makes it hard for the youths to realise that their self-proclaimed chances of finishing college might be estimated too

high. The youths however do realize that they will face problems that will make it more difficult for them to finish college or university with the degree they want.

A big problem in the realization of aspired education: Money

One of the most mentioned problems that could spoil the plans of these youths is money, or better, the lack thereof. All youths, except for three, think this might be a problem in the future. I then inquired about how they intend to solve this problem. The students then mentioned a couple of financial resources that could help them pay for school and their expenses, and these were mentioned equally by girls and boys. The resource that was most often named is a scholarship or grant. There are several scholarships that Chuukese youths can apply for. First they can apply for the Chuuk State Scholarship which is provided by the Legislators office of the Chuuk State government. The applications for this scholarship are reviewed by a board that awards scholarships to Chuuk State students who pursue studies in the areas of law, agriculture, engineering, marine science, health science, business and accounting or other fields that the board considers to be essential to the economic and social development of the State of Chuuk. The students have to return to Chuuk to work for at least two years after obtaining their BA degree to practise the skills they learned abroad on penalty of having to repay their scholarship.³

Another grant that some students mentioned applying for is the FAFSA (the Free Application for Federal Student Aid). This federal student aid is provided by the US Department of Education for all students that need financial aid in college and it covers college expenses such as tuition, room and board, books and supplies, and transportation. The students from the FSM can also apply for is the Pell grant and a Federal Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grant (FSEOG). The first grant is available almost exclusively to undergraduates (up until their BA degree). The latter grant is available for undergraduates with exceptional financial need.⁴ Next to these scholarships most colleges and universities, especially the more prestigious ones, offer their own scholarships to promising students.

³ <http://www.uhh.hawaii.edu/studentaffairs/international/documents/Chuuk.pdf>

⁴ <http://www.fafsa4caster.ed.gov/what010.htm>

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Another resource that was named by the students is working part-time next to school. Most adolescents said they will find a job somewhere out of school, but some also mentioned what is called a Work-Study program. Most colleges in the US or affiliated territories have such a program which provided jobs for students either off campus or on campus. In this program students earn their own money and are paid at least minimum federal wages.⁵ A third resource for money mentioned, is taking a break in school to work fulltime and make some money to be able to pay off debts or save up money for the coming years in college. Benito, who attends Chuuk High, explained how he will get money for college in the US:

‘I go to school on Guam. After I finish, I go to job every day for five or six years. If I believe I have enough money for my plan I come back to my island cause I bring one girl for my wife and then I will go to America. I save my money from Guam because I plan to buy my ticket.’

The last resource that was mentioned is family. The adolescents expect their parents, uncles and aunts, and grandparents to help pay for their school.

There are however some differences between the schools in the resources that were mentioned (table 14). Although students from all schools mention asking family for money, the students at Chuuk High and Land Grant mention this resource more often and name it as their most important one. At both the COM and at Xavier all of the students named scholarships or financial aid as a resource for money. This number was lower at Chuuk High and Land Grant. COM students might be more aware of scholarship opportunities because they are already enrolled in a college. Xavier students might also be more acquainted with scholarships because they usually apply for some of the higher colleges that have a high tuition fees and therefore they need scholarships to be able to pay for school, and they get help applying for these scholarships. Also many of the higher colleges or universities offer their own scholarships that require an early application and applying for these schools therefore might make these students more aware of the possibilities in that area. Since I only interviewed seniors at that school, they were at that moment very involved in applying to schools for next year. At Chuuk High I also interviewed mostly seniors but these

⁵ <http://www.fafsa4caster.ed.gov/what010.htm>

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students did not mention being involved at that time with applying for colleges or universities or with scholarship applications and did not receive any help in doing so. Though I spoke to these students in April and they therefore still had time to apply, since most applications are due before the end of June, this could indicate that students at a higher level of schooling are more actively involved in applying for scholarships. The fact that students at Xavier and COM mentioned asking parents for help less is partly caused by the fact that some of these students expressed wanting to be independent as Lidy explains: ‘because now I have been depending on my parents too much.’ Over all this indicates that higher educated adolescents make more use of scholarships, while lower educated adolescents more often rely on family.

It is striking however that none of the adolescents know whether the money they will gather from all of the different resources would be enough to support them. They do not seem to know how much money they will be able to generate and do not know what their expenses will be. This is often the case when FSM citizens plan to migrate; they are unaware of the high costs of living abroad. This is partially caused by insufficient information from family members (Kohler & Samuel, 2002, pp. 7-8). This causes youths not to have too little information to know what attending a college costs and what living abroad will cost them. This makes it difficult for them to assess how much money they need and if their resources will be sufficient.

Other problems in the realization of aspired education

Although money will be the biggest problem in school for most of these adolescents, they also mentioned other problems that will cause difficulties. A second problem is that many of them will travel abroad for education which will make them miss their families as Jody explained:

‘...being away from the family and stuff, missing them a lot. Yeah that would be a lot of problems... I am a family person so I am always thinking about the family... But I would call them, visit them, and maybe get used to being away from them. ...I mean there are not always going to be there so. Trying to get used to the feeling of not always being with them.’

Homesickness is very common among the adolescents. Many of the students have already been away from their family when travelling away from Chuuk or when

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moving to Weno from one of the outlying islands. Five youths therefore say they can handle being away from home, since they managed before, but all other youths mentioned they will be missing their family. Families in Chuuk tend to live close together and people often see their extended family on a daily basis. The fact that these family ties are strong makes it difficult to be away from them. Most of them feel this is something they have to get used to since the only way to get a good education is to travel away from home. Eriko also mentioned being there for a reason, to finish his school, would help him: ‘cause I leave here for a purpose so I will feel good. I am leaving for what will help me in the future.’

Another problem the adolescents mentioned is living in a different environment. Some youths feel it would be scary to live in a place that is going to be very different from what they are used to, especially big modern cities. Jimmy told me the following:

‘Just thinking about it makes me nervous because I’ve never been in a place so modernized... just dealing with technology and money. Here it is just easy life. Just go to school, tuition is not that much of a problem. Every thing is just old ways.’

Again the answer for this problem in Jospeh’s words is: ‘I will have to face it, let go of things... like try to get used to it...live it.’

A fourth problem is the adolescents’ behaviour in school and absenteeism, as reported in the PREL study mentioned in paragraph 3.1.2. Some youths mentioned their laziness might be a problem. Cindy, who goes to Land Grant, explained that she used to be absent because; ‘...sometimes when I don’t wake up early then I won’t go because I am so tired.’ But she will try not to be absent again when she enters high school; ‘because I would start my best.’ A fifth problem might be the high level of education in college or university that would make the youths have difficulties in school. Manny feels: ‘troubled because I don’t know if I can make it’. Two students are insecure about their ability to speak English and feel this might hinder them in their education. Not having enough English proficiency might hinder the youths in their education and also in getting a job. The Chuuk Census Report shows that people with better English proficiency have lower unemployment rates (Chuuk Branch Statistics Office, 2002, p. 82). Kamy is also unsure if he will meet college requirements: ‘...I am not sure about the COM. Because there is a chance that I not

pass the test.’ The high level of education will indeed be a problem for some the youths. Statistics show that many adolescents can not perform on college level after high school, as indicated by the low percentage of students that pass the COM entrance test (Hezel, 2001b, p. 14-15). The fact however that only five youths mentioned that the level of schooling might be a problem, while in fact this might be a problem for many of them, indicates that most adolescents find it hard to assess their capabilities and what level of education will suit them.

Another problem that was mentioned, but only by the girls, was having a baby. Jody said: ‘I would like to continue but it all depends on ... if there are any children in the picture cause then it would be harder.’ During my interviews three informants told me they already have children. This is the case with two boys and one girl. The fact that in 34 students three had a child is not exceptional. In Chuuk about nine percent of all births is to teenagers aged 19 or below (Samuel, 2002, p.1). The youths I spoke to were all around the age of 18 when their baby was born. The boys don’t see the baby anymore and didn’t marry the girl that had their baby because the girls did not want to get married. These boys were therefore not hindered in their education. With the girl, Wendy, this was different. She had her baby when she was already enrolled in the COM. She explained how she managed to stay in school while raising a baby:

‘When my baby was still breastfeeding I would come here right before my class and right after my class I would leave again and feed the baby and then come again to go to school. Maybe in the States it would be hard because I would have to raise the baby all by myself. But here I have my parents so when I am really tired of making her sleeping they help me to.’

She thinks this will be different if she moves to the States: ‘Here it is a little easier cause I have relatives and they help me to take care of her. Out there I think it is very hard.’ At first she didn’t plan on marrying the father of the baby, as she feared this would interfere with her chances in college: ‘but he is nice so when I discussed with him about furthering my education he agrees.’ So now she plans on marrying him and they will go to the States together. She thinks this will not affect her chance of finishing school:

‘Maybe it will be easy and somewhat difficult because when I get married I am not one anymore, I am two so I have to think for two. And other times it might

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also be easy because we can go out there together because he can work and I can go to school and he can help us with financial problems out there.'

She does however fear having another baby with him because having another baby: 'that will be hindering me from finishing because then I would have to stop. Unless we manage to not have a baby until I have finished college.' Since a baby would hinder her in college I wanted to know how she planned to take care of her baby in college. She explained:

'My parents are thinking of adopting her. I discussed with them that I want to take her with me and they don't want to. They said if she is going with me we will make sure that we will go there with a lot of money so we don't have to suffer financially and for housing and stuff. It seems hard because I have to go there and make money there. So if it works maybe she will come later.'

Adoption is very common in Chuuk, so it is not exceptional that her parents would adopt the baby. However I did want to know how she will feel if her baby stays with her parents:

'Well I would just let them because I think to myself that that's the only way to show them my appreciation and that I am grateful to them for helping me. Because without them it would have been hard. So I would just let them. ...Maybe sometimes I will feel homesick but at least I have courage and faith that she is fine with my parents.'

In conclusion, pregnancy can be a problem if already studying abroad since there will not always be family to help the girl with raising a child. In Chuuk girls can manage to go to school and take care of a baby at the same time with the help of her family. If the family wants to continue to help the girl, it is even possible for her to attend college and possibly even finish. However a pregnancy during college will probably decrease the chance for the girl to finish college. That is why most girls I talked to want to wait with getting married and having children until they finished college. More on this subject can be found in chapter four.

A last problem that can interfere with finishing college according to the adolescents is drugs. Drugs that are being used in Chuuk are usually alcohol and marihuana. There are also some people that use hard drugs, but this is a very small percentage of the drug users. Alcohol is usually drunk by males between the ages of 15 and 60. It is widespread even among young males. In between the ages of 20-29 about 28 percent of the males drink and this percentage increases with age (Hezel, 1997, pp.

20, 23). The same is the case with users of marihuana (ibid., pp. 37). Another drug that is widely used by adolescents in Chuuk is betel nut. Betel nut has always been used but its use is spreading (Dobbin, 1996, p. 1). A betel nut is the seed of a betel palm, which people chew on because of its mildly stimulating effect. Betel nut can be addictive⁶. In Chuuk the nut is split open and stuffed with a mixture of tobacco and lime.

There are only two informants that mentioned drugs as a problem. Marilyn fears that drugs will make her lose track of school so that she will drop out, as she puts it: 'If I kind of lose control like hang out with friends and doing drugs. That is the only thing I am scared of.' She will try to prevent this from happening by: 'not concentrate on those friends but focus on my education first.' Her fear might be partially caused by her choice of school because she wants to attend school in Las Vegas. Since this is a big city she might fear drugs more. Frandy also fears drugs will keep him out of school and he would make sure that he says off drugs by living with his uncle: 'He care for me about problems like drugs and alcoholic and marihuana, he can take care of that I can't touch it.'

All of these problems the youths might face make half of the youths fear that they might not finish the education they would like. Some adolescents fear not finishing college because of high expectations parents and family members have for them as Joseph explained:

'How would people see me because in my family some of my young relatives look up to me and other family members are really proud of me that I am in this level of education. So I am thinking how they see me if I don't finish my education and stuff. They really look up to me and they say I should go on.'

Manny fears not finishing: 'Cause I want to be well educated.' Sera explained why a good education is important to her: 'Because I might not be able to find a job in the future if I don't have college degree.' Statistics also show that higher educated people have a lower unemployment rate. Especially college graduates have a very small unemployment rate of about five percent (Chuuk Branch Statistics Office, 2002, p. 83). This makes the adolescents strive for a good education in college.

⁶ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Betelnut>

Conclusion

In conclusion my results show that all adolescents want a good education. In order for them to pursue such an education they have to travel abroad, but this makes it harder for them to actually realize their plans because the youths feel they would have several problems abroad such as missing family, dealing with different environments, absenteeism, getting pregnant and drugs. Only five youths fear they will not finish college because of the high level of schooling and their English proficiency, even though statistics show that a large percentage of the youths do not meet college standards after finishing high school. This indicates that it is hard for the adolescents to assess their capabilities and what level of education will suit them. The main problem that would hinder the adolescents in obtaining the education they desire, however is money. They can get money from different resources like grants or scholarships, work and also family. Students at lower-graded schools make more mention of this last resource as their most important one, while students at higher-graded schools mention grants and scholarships more often. This suggests that students in lower levels of education have less knowledge of the possibilities of grants and scholarships. It is also striking that none of the adolescents know whether or not their resources will be sufficient which indicates that they lack knowledge of the cost of living abroad and the expenses during college. Though the adolescents acknowledge that they will have some difficulties in college most of them feel they can overcome these problems, and feel they have a middle or big chance of getting a BA or MA degree. However half of the youths do sometimes fear they will not fully realize their plans, but they will strive for their plans because they feel that not having a good education will limit their chance of a good job.

3.2 Chuukese adolescents and their future employment

After their education is completed the adolescents in Chuuk want to find employment. Most of them already have ambitions for what kind of profession they will have in the future. In this paragraph I will first describe these ambitions. After that I will describe how these youth intend to realize their plans, how they perceive their chances of finding the job they aspire and if they intend to migrate for work. In doing that I

answer the second research question mentioned in paragraph 1.3 namely: What expectations and ambitions do adolescents have concerning employment? Where and how do they intend to get the employment they want?

3.2.1 Expectations and ambitions for employment

In this paragraph I discuss the different professions the adolescents aspire to and what reasons they have for choosing these professions. Finally I discuss what these youths want to change in Chuuk, often through their profession.

The aspired profession of the adolescents

The youths all want to get a job after completing their education. The professions that are mentioned most are teacher, lawyer, being a businessman or woman and owning a business of their own. The professions the youths plan to have in the future are usually consistent with their ambitions in continuation of their education, in which the most popular majors among the youths are also law, education and business. Other professions that are mentioned more than once are being a mechanic, working in the police force, being a psychologist, a doctor or nurse, a pilot or stewardess, a politician, an accountant or being a movie director or singer. Being a lawyer is an occupation that both girls and boys would like to do. With the other professions some differences between boys and girls appear. First, all business related occupations, like being an accountant, owning a business, working in a hotel or being a businessman or woman, are mentioned more by girls than by boys. Business therefore seems to be a sector in which women want to be more active in the future. There are more boys than girls that mentioned wanting to be a teacher, so boys might be more active in teaching than girls in the future. Some professions are only mentioned by boys like being a mechanic, working with computers and being a politician, and there are also some occupations that only girls mention, such as being a psychologist or a doctor or nurse. The girls therefore are more oriented on health related occupations than boys (table 15).

These findings are consistent with the statistics in the Chuuk Census Report of 2000, which shows that women are more often employed in the health related jobs and social work than men and that men are more often employed in mechanics and

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computer related jobs. The census shows that men dominate almost every industry except for the health and social work, and hotels and bars (Chuuk Branch Statistics Office, 2002, p. 92). This last sector of occupation was also mentioned only by girls in the interviews. The fact that men dominate most industries is partially caused by the fact that more men enter the labour force than women. The census also shows that women, although not exceeding the men, are well represented in the business and financial sector (*ibid.*, p. 92). Since more girls than boys are interested in business this could indicate that the percentage of women that will be working in this sector will increase in the future as more women will enter the labour force.

Besides gender differences there are also some differences between the four schools when it comes to their students' choice of occupation. The higher educated students for instance seem to prefer more high-graded professions while students at lower levels of education make more mention of somewhat lower-graded professions, such as being a teacher, a mechanic or a stewardess. Of these professions none were mentioned at Xavier, except for teaching which was mentioned only once, while at other schools more students mentioned these occupations. Also the somewhat higher-graded professions such as being a psychologist and working in a hotel at management level were mentioned only by students at Xavier High School and at COM. It would however be wrong to state that students at lower levels of education only aspire lower-graded jobs because some high-graded profession, such as being a doctor or lawyer, are aspired to by students from all levels of education (table 16).

Another difference between the schools is the number of different occupations that were mentioned by the students. Students at Xavier High School mentioned fifteen different professions they would be interested in, while the students at COM mentioned twelve. At Chuuk High they mentioned ten and at Land Grant the students only mentioned seven different occupations. This could be caused by the lack of information on what majors are available in colleges or universities at the somewhat lower-graded schools. However it could also be connected to where these youths would like to get their job and the reasons they have for choosing a certain job. These two subjects I will discuss next, beginning with the latter.

Motives to choose a certain profession

The motives adolescents have for choosing a certain profession are very diverse because these motives are specific for each profession. However there are also several similarities to be found in why the youths want to have these different occupations. Their reasons can be divided into seven bigger categories; helping others, money, recognition, interests in the activities of the occupation, practical reasons, wanting to pursue their parents' professions and wanting to change something with their job. Money as a reason to work is obvious and needs no further explanation, but the other categories might need a small introduction. Helping others includes helping their family or community, helping Chuukese people in general or helping the people their job is concerned with, for instance the patients a doctor treats or, in case of a teacher, the students he or she helps. Recognition is concerned with being recognized for one's hard work in the form of respect or fame. Interests are all the reasons that are concerned with why the youths are interested in that specific job. Mostly these interests have something to do with certain activities the profession offers that are appealing to the youths; something they feel would be fun about doing that job. Practical reasons for choosing a certain job have to do with the vacancies in a certain line of work. Wanting to do their parents profession can also be a motive to choose a profession. The last category is concerned with motives of wanting to change something in their society or their work environment by doing a job. All of these categories will be explained more thoroughly now that I discuss the reasons the youths have for wanting to do each specific occupation.

The adolescents that want to become lawyers have reasons for choosing that profession that fit into six out of the seven categories; all but wanting to follow in their parents' footsteps were mentioned (since none of the youths' parents are lawyers). Of the categories mentioned, interests in the activities of the occupation is the category that was named most, and there is only one interest that attracted the youths to becoming a lawyer as Nisi said: 'Because I like to argue, cause that is what I do mostly.' Money and getting recognition were mentioned equally by boys and girls. Ariana explained this last motive:

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‘Lawyers are famous in Chuuk...And I want that too. I want to be recognized after all the work I have done. I have worked hard in elementary and I have worked hard in high school and I am going to work hard when I go to college so I want to get the pay after working so hard, I want to get something out of it; money and fame and goal achievement. That is like my goal so I want to achieve it.’

Ariana’s statement shows that she wants her personal achievement to be recognized by others. Having a good job does not only entail a good income, but also personal success. In order to perform well in the cash economy it is important to develop individual capabilities. Education and the labour market are therefore a driving force behind individualisation (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, pp. 32-33). Development of personal capabilities was traditionally a way to enhance personal status and gain respect (Goodenough, 2002, p.70). Ariana’s statement shows that this is still the case in Chuuk today. By developing her individual qualities in the modern context of the labour market she gains respect in a traditional way. The only difference between the past and present way of gaining respect is that in the past respect was more ascribed on basis of gender and age and status enhancement was only possible in a small amount. Nowadays personal achievements are more important and therefore one can gain more respect by individual action than was possible in the past.

Next to recognition, helping others is also a reason for choosing to become a lawyer as Joseph explained: ‘I like talking to people, and a lawyer is basically somebody who helps people and talks for them. And I am very talkative and I have a way of helping others so I kind of picture myself in a courtroom.’ Sita also wants to help her family by being a lawyer:

‘When maybe they need a lawyer, I want to be that person to help them... Even now when they need like a lawyer, we need to go to lawyers here, and we don’t even trust those lawyers.... I will be honest to them, unlike some lawyers who are liars.’

Jody wants to change something through her job as a lawyer. She wants to change the laws and make sure they are enforced: ‘The laws here are... I don’t even know about them and people don’t know any of them and when I think they are violating a law they don’t do anything about it.’ Manny has a more practical reason for wanting to become a lawyer: ‘To be a lawyer in Chuuk is easy... because a lawyer has a good education so any place would hire. Especially here in Chuuk.’

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The reasons the youths have for wanting to pursue a career in business are similar to the reasons for becoming a lawyer, however there are some interesting differences. For instance, never is helping people or wanting to change something about their society a motive for doing business. An explanation for this is that business is concerned largely with making money. Being involved in business has less to do with the society and has fewer opportunities to change that society. Therefore business is not the obvious choice of career if one wants to pursue this motive. Money and interest in the activities involved with business are the most mentioned reasons for choosing business, but recognition is also a part of its appeal according to Emy, who wants to run her parents store in the future: 'I like the way they look up to my parents, the workers and even our neighbours.'

The main motive for becoming a teacher is helping the students, especially those in Chuuk as Pauline explained: '...cause I need to help those students that don't understand English and other subjects...I want to help them so they can go to the other school, like university school or college.' Practical reasons are also very important as Gina told me: '...there aren't many teachers at the elementary and high schools on my island.' In Chuuk there has recently been a discussion about teachers who have not obtained a teaching degree, and the government agreed they should no longer teach. Rex explained this is a reason for him to become a teacher:

'Next year there is going to be an elimination of teachers that don't have a degree here on the island...The elementary school where I am from on the other side of the island, there are only like three teachers that have a degree, or some kind of degree. So by then there will be no more teachers at that school. So then I will go there and teach.'

There is one more occupation for which some of the adolescents have practical reasons, namely being a mechanic. The practical reason here is that being a mechanic doesn't require a diploma or degree, as Mike explained: 'Maybe I won't get my AS degree ...that is why mechanic is my backup plan.'

The other professions mentioned by the adolescents are chosen out of interest in its activities, because they want to help others or change something in their society. The health oriented professions like psychologist and doctor or nurse are chosen

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mainly to help patients. Being part of the police force was chosen by both a boy and a girl because they want to change law enforcement in Chuuk. Sita explained why:

‘I don’t really like the way they operate round here at the police station. They don’t even know the rules there. So if I come back with the big knowledge I might come back and make changes there. Even though I am a woman. And then just go and show them. Give them the laws and enforce them. Or even like try to make the government send some of the policemen to Guam and learn what those police at Guam are learning. So they can come back here and like do it and make our island a safer place.’

Joseph also wants to change the enforcement but said: ‘it will take a good government too change all that so. Not just one person...So I am hoping to work with the government too.’

Over all the different categories of motives are mentioned almost equally by boys and girls. This was not the case with the categories ‘interests’ and ‘practical reasons’. Interests in the activities of a profession are mentioned fifteen times by girls and only seven times by boys. Practical reasons are mentioned more by the boys. When adding up all the times when reasons in each category were named, it shows that ‘interests’ is mentioned most followed by helping others, money, changing society, recognition and practical reasons. The category that was mentioned least was the motive of wanting to do the same profession as one of the parents. The fact that their own interests in a certain occupation play an important part in their choice and doing the same profession as parents was least important, suggests that parents have little influence on the choice of occupation of their children. The adolescents therefore emphasize their own interests more. The influence of parents on their children’s choices will further be discussed in the paragraph 3.3.

The fact that the adolescents in total only mentioned 15 different occupations, as mentioned before, could be influenced by the reasons these youths have for doing a certain profession. Many of the youths mentioned wanting to help the people on their island, which they feel they can accomplish with the professions chosen. There are however adolescents that choose professions, like working in business, that are not motivated by this reason so this does not fully explain why these youths choose such a limited number of profession. It can also be caused by the somewhat limited economic differentiation on the islands. Over the last decennia more different kinds of

occupations have become available on the islands of Chuuk, but the extent of the differentiation is not as far-reaching as it is in for instance the US. The adolescents might therefore choose a limited number of professions because they feel that their chance of finding employment in Chuuk is biggest when choosing these professions.

During my interviews I also inquired if the adolescents want to have a different job later on in life, either a different profession or a different workplace, and a little over half of them do want that. The reasons for switching occupations are usually that the old occupation is no longer appealing or that a new occupation is more appealing than the old one. Joseph explained he will change jobs if a job gets boring: 'People get tired and bored doing the same job. So I might as well try another job instead.' For Anna the reason for changing to a different occupation will be that the new job is more appealing: 'Like if my salary is not good enough... then maybe I will switch into a different job. Or if I find it not interesting at all I might want to do a different job.' Jody would change jobs: 'If I see that the other job is higher.' This shows that some of the youths would like to improve in their jobs and have the ambition to pursue a better occupation if they can. This mobility makes people less tied to tradition in the sense that they will not follow the beaten track but will make their own choices. This makes labour market one of the driving forces behind individualisation (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, pp. 32-33). Choosing to switch jobs therefore shows that the youths will make individual choices in their lives and shows increasing individualisation.

Things that should change in Chuuk

Even though changing things in Chuukese society or in Chuuk in general was not a motive for choosing a certain profession for every adolescent, all of them want some things to change in Chuuk. One of the changes the youths mentioned most is the road that circles around the island. The road in Chuuk is paved on most places but has not been kept in a good state of repair over the last decennia, which has led to big holes in the paved parts of the road. Another problem that was mentioned is trash. There is no facility to collect and get rid of trash which has resulted in trash being everywhere. The power supply is another problem that should change according to the adolescents. Weno has two fuel driven generators that provide power for the island. However the

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utility company sometimes runs out of fuel to run the generators or the generators get broken. In these situations the island has no power or only some parts of the day. The improvement of schools was also mentioned six times. Jody explained: 'The public schools should change because the teachers are not really willing to work, they just go there for the money and kids are not really in to school anymore and the conditions are bad too.' The healthcare facilities in Chuuk should also be improved according to three youths, since they lack medical supplies.

These changes the adolescents mentioned are all concerned with public facilities that should be improved by the government. Many adolescents feel the government is not doing its job because these public facilities are not improving. Therefore twelve youths also mentioned that the government should change. Gina explained why: 'Their way of misusing money and how they treat their people. To me it is like we are slaves. We go with whatever they say. And because of our culture we respect them because they are our leaders.' Though almost all youths feel this way, not all of them agree, like Jimmy: 'The leaders are ok but we lack people like special prosecutors that point out the silly mistakes that our leaders make. I think that would really switch everything around.' Ariana feels that the government should deal with landowners better:

'There is this one thing that I would really want to change; landowners in Chuuk. Like they have great power. Those poles that they put electricity lines on, in other places there is no electricity because landowners don't want the government to put the poles in. They demand payments. But the government is poor, cause we don't create money... That is why you see the road doesn't go around the island, because of landowners. And if I had a voice in the government I would take that privilege away from people. Just for the betterment of Chuuk. Not to abuse their power, but for the betterment.'

Another problem that three youths perceived is the Chuukese economy. Ariana already mentioned in the previous quote that the Chuukese government is not making their own money because it has virtually no export products. A last problem that should change in Chuuk according to Frandy is: 'in my village that is the problem of alcohol and marihuana.'

Since the adolescents know clearly what should change in Chuuk, I was interested to see if they have thought of solutions for these problems. Ten of the youths either had no idea yet how to solve these problems or thought if would be best if

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someone else changed the problems as in the case of Jimmy: 'I have a lot of faith in my fellow schoolmates at Xavier and all those smart Micronesians. I believe they can do it.' Others plan to talk to high officials in the government to change some of the problems like the trash, the schools, the road and healthcare, like Joseph will: 'I hope in the near future I will get friends in the government and stuff and they can talk to the high people and then get friends and family involved.' Gina feels it is necessary to talk to government officials on these matters: 'because everything only happens through that area.' Other youths will try to change the problems through their profession as for instance Wendy will do:

'Here there is no counsel centre and I would like to encourage that I want that to be here. Cause we face so many problems and the only solution they think they have to our problems is like committing suicide or become a heavy drinker. So maybe they can help them in giving them the right solution to their problems... If I am a psychologist maybe I could help with the counsel centre.'

Wendy mentioned some of the problems the youth in Chuuk solve their problems by drinking and suicide (for further reading see note 1). Two boys would also like to help with problems like alcohol and drugs but they have a different approach than Wendy does. Frandy will do the following: 'make some other activities in sport or stop drinking and smoking to get athletic.' Sotonio has a plan to help the economy:

'And most of my relatives have dropped out of school and I notice that they are living hard lives, trying to sell local goods in order to live and I want to find ways to help those kind of people. I want to find ways to get people more interested in local markets to help those people that work hard. Not only in Chuuk but also find people outside.'

The solutions the adolescents have for the problems in Chuuk show that these adolescents have thought about how they could contribute to changing Chuuk for the better. Though their plans are still vague, they show that the youths want to help change Chuukese society. Sita however notes that it is not going to be easy:

'Chuuk is the most populated state in the FSM and the slowest to progress so it is difficult to say. I keep saying to my friends that they should not talk bad about Chuuk because it is going to be different in ten years but now I think it is going to be very difficult... I would love to come back in ten years and see Chuuk as a sparkling place instead of a trashy place.'

Sita's view on the progress of Chuuk is shared by many adolescents. They fear that even though they want the problems to be solved, they might not be able to do this.

Conclusion

The adolescents I interviewed all want to have a job and the jobs that were mentioned most are teacher, lawyer and working in business. Girls seem to have more interest in business than the boys and thus business might be a sector in which women want to be more active. The adolescents have several reasons for choosing certain professions, such as money, getting recognition, interests and practical reasons. The fact that personal interests of the youths are more important in their choice of occupation than following their parents' footsteps indicates that the choice of occupation is more a youth's own choice than their parents'. The fact that recognition is also important to the adolescents shows that personal achievement is important to them. This shows that the individual will become more important than was the case in the past. Another motive for choosing a certain occupation is helping others in Chuuk. In fact almost all youths would like some things to change in Chuuk. The things that were mentioned most often have to do with public facilities. Another thing they want to see changed is the government because they feel there is too much corruption and poor leadership. The youths also worry about the Chuukese economy. Most adolescents plan to contribute to solving these problems through their work or by talking to high officials. Most youths however feel the realisation of the solutions they have in mind might not come about easily.

3.2.2 Realization of ambitions for employment

In this paragraph I discuss the chances the adolescents feel they have in finding employment, what problems they foresee in finding employment and what they would do in case they will not be able to find their aspired employment. Migrating abroad will also be discussed.

The adolescents' chances of finding their aspired employment

The realisation of the plans adolescents have concerning their future employment starts with finding a place to work. However jobs might be hard to find when the youths return from college. It is estimated that only 60 jobs become available every

year in all the states of the FSM together. These government jobs become available because of retirement or death of the person who used to hold the position (Hezel & Lightfoot, 2005, p. 4). This is why unemployment rates are high in Chuuk. The Chuuk Census shows that the unemployment rate in 2000 was about 32 percent and that that percentage had increased since the census done in 1994 when the unemployment rate was 20 percent (Chuuk Branch Statistics Office, 2002, p. 88). On the island of Weno the unemployment rate is lower because it is the administrative and business centre of the state but even here the unemployment rate doubled since 1994. This is partly caused by the flow of people from the outer islands to the island in search of work (ibid., p. 81). These statistics indicate that it would be very hard to find a job in Chuuk and the FSM in the future.

Although statistics show that finding a job in Chuuk is not always easy, most of the youths I spoke to are really sure of finding a job in the future. 30 out of the 34 youths said they had a big chance (70 to 100 percent) of finding a job. The other four thought they had a middle chance (40 to 60 percent) of finding a job (table 17). However these chances are based on some conditions. The most important conditions mentioned is getting a degree. The Chuuk Census Report endorses the importance of this condition. The census shows that high school graduates show less than average unemployment rates. College graduates have an even smaller unemployment rate of about three to five percent (Chuuk Branch Statistics Office, 2002, p. 83). Having a degree therefore does give people a bigger chance of getting a job in the future. Many people believe that having a good education is a guarantee of a job, but this is no longer the reality of today and the future. Many of the college graduates hope to get a job in the government or in government related jobs, but this government is now cutting down in workforce because funds from the US are diminishing (Hezel, 2001c, p. 2). In the future it might therefore get more difficult to find a job in Chuuk, even with a college degree.

The big chances of finding employment the youths proclaim for themselves are not only based on getting a degree, but also on being qualified for the job and others being less qualified as Anna explained:

'Maybe in the future there is a lot of educated people. They might only like look for the people with the highest level of education. And like they only take

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in those people... So I guess it depends on how people are educated in the future. If more people are interested in education now and they get educated in the future it might be harder to get a job. But if everybody is like oh forget about school and that and then only a few people are educated then it might be easier cause only a few people can do the work.'

Anna is one of the only adolescents that take into account the availability of employment as a condition for her chance of finding employment. The chances the youths proclaim for themselves are high, which indicates that many adolescents in fact have little knowledge of the availability of employment in Chuuk. The four youths that are more modest in their self-proclaimed chance of finding employment are all higher educated which suggests that those youths have a better understanding of the difficulties in employment in Chuuk.

Problems in finding employment

Not meeting the conditions mentioned in the previous section will turn them into problems. Other problems that might hinder the youths in finding employment are not being able to raise enough money to start a business of their own or not getting elected, in the case of the youths that would like to be politicians. Another problem that two of the youths mentioned is being underestimated as Sera described: 'They will probably underestimate me or think I am not good enough for the job... They are probably going to think I am inexperienced or something.' Sita mentioned that she might not get hired as a lawyer because she is a woman:

'...it is going to be a very very big challenge to me when I come back here. Cause men here they think that women can not do that. I would come, like seeking for a job, they might put me as a secretary or something. They might think that I don't have any respect for men or stuff cause men think that they are higher than women. So a lawyer is a high position. I am not sure, maybe in ten years they might change their mind.'

Another hindrance that was mentioned by four youths was that for some jobs, for instance in the government and also within schools, it is not uncommon that unqualified relatives get hired over qualified strangers. Rex explained how this works:

'Nowadays they have this term that is *ke pach ke tento*, which means that if you are on my side you will get a job. If you want to get a job somewhere and they don't know you, they won't hire you. But if they know you they hire you even if you don't have a degree.'

Literally *ke pach ke tento* means that if you have a connection you have a tent. When trying to find a job this can be a hindrance if you do not have that connection and if someone else does.

This problem is supposedly very hard to conquer as Stephen mentioned: 'It is hard to deal with those people. They backfire very well.' A remedy for the money problems youths might have when starting their own business will be to save up money and ask family members to chip in. Working hard is the only solution mentioned for problems like getting a degree, being underestimated and not getting hired because of being a woman. A solution to not getting elected is to make sure people vote for you. Benito will do this the following way:

'I want to many people saw me. If I want for representative I will first help people because they saw me. If they really saw me I talk about what I really want. If they like me they will sign my name. And if they don't like me I don't care because I love people. And if I go to America I have job and save money because when I go back to my island I make one backup generator to help the island and I buy many boats.'

Manny would try to get elected by doing the following: 'Send for all the relatives on the islands, on Tol, Fefen, Tonoas and Weno. Ask them to vote for me.' Despite all of these problems the adolescents are positive that they will find a job, and only nine out of 34 people fear they will not manage to do so. They thus feel they can overcome their problems.

If problems do not get solved: Alternative employment

Even though the adolescents feel they will be able to find employment, there is always a chance that things will not turn out the way these youths had planned and the problems mentioned above might not get solved. I therefore asked what these youths planned to do in this worst case scenario. Nine of the youths mentioned just trying to find an alternative workplace. About 20 of the 34 youths I interviewed would try to find an alternative profession if they are not be able to do the profession of their first choice. This alternative job is always a somewhat lower-graded one. For six of the youths being a teacher is the job they will pursue if they are not able to get the job of their first choice. Walter would like to become a mechanic if that is the case, because

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he would not need a degree to get this job. Four girls said they will become cashiers if they can not find other jobs. These last two alternative professions are only mentioned by students attending lower levels of education, which indicates that this is not an option for adolescents in higher levels of education.

Three of the boys I interviewed, of whom two go to Chuuk High and one goes to Land Grant, mentioned maybe becoming a fisherman if they are not able to find other jobs. This means they would try to provide for their own food by fishing, and possibly also sell this fish in the market. The Chuuk Census of 2000 shows that still two out of five Chuukese is employed in fishery or agriculture and that 88 percent of these people produce only for personal usage, also called subsistence (Chuuk Branch Statistics Office, 2002, p. 76). Subsistence agriculture or fishery is mostly done on the islands that are more distant from Weno since there are fewer job opportunities on those islands (ibid., p. 84). The three boys that considered being fishermen indeed originate from islands that are a little bit more distant from Weno, namely Tol, Paata and Fefen.

The level of education is also a factor in the chance of becoming a subsistence worker. The Chuuk Census data show that of the people that are involved in subsistence activities in 2000 about 40 percent had an elementary education, 8.1 percent had finished high school and only 0.2 percent of people with a BA degree are involved in subsistence activities. These data show that a high education will decrease ones chances of becoming a farmer or fisherman (ibid., p. 86). This is consistent with my finding since the boys that mentioned fishing as an occupation are all lower educated. The census in 2000 also showed that 65 percent of the subsistence workers would prefer to work in higher-graded jobs (ibid., p. 88), as would be the case with the three boys I interviewed.

Migrating abroad for employment

If finding a job in Chuuk will prove be too hard, five youths mentioned they would decide to move abroad. Sera explained: 'In Chuuk I might not get any job cause there are very few jobs. People just take them and there is nothing to fill up.' If she cannot find a job in Chuuk: 'I think I will go back to the States. But I will try again later cause

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I wanna stay here and live here.’ However not being able to find a job in Chuuk is not the only reason for choosing to work abroad. For Nisi, who wants to become a lawyer, the availability of work abroad is a reason to migrate there. She believes that: ‘...working in the States is good and I think that there is lots of criminals in the States than here. They are really strict but here it is not.’ Another important reason for migrating abroad is gaining experience as Emy said: ‘After college I wanna work in Hawaii first to get experience in how to manage a business and after two years come back home.’ Three of the youths also mentioned they would want to move abroad because of their own family in the future. Lidy explained: ‘If I have a family and they need to live a good life and the standards in here in school are not good then I would bring them to the states to get educated.’ Sita also mentioned that one of her reasons of moving would be that: ‘I want to live apart from the extended family.’ This would make her feel independent and that is important to her.

The reason that was most mentioned however is money. The youths feel they can make more money abroad as Merilyn explained: ‘because they don’t pay as much here as in the States.’ The money they will earn they will not only use for themselves, but also send some of it back to Chuuk to help their families. Nisi told me she would feel good about living in the US because: ‘...we can help other people, we can help our state... by sending money to my family cause I love them and I want to help them.’ Other adolescents will also provide healthcare for them, as Wendy told me:

‘...when we get a job and we have money we help our parents and like if they are out of jobs and they just stay home jobless, we take care of them. ...I want to help them also. Like financially and like when they get sick and old.’

This shows that it is to be expected that the youths will send money back to Chuuk to take care of their family if they have a job abroad. If indeed the number of people that migrate abroad were to increase, the amount of money send back in remittances would also increase. This will become an important resource for the Chuukese economy in the future, but in order for this to be a reliable source of income these remittances must be made into a continuing flow by keeping bonds with the homeland strong (Poirine, 1998, 83). Hezel and Lightfoot (2005, p. 5) suggest arranging this by letting the migrants keep their FSM citizenship and their right to vote, by the retention of land

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rights and by organizing events in which migrants are invited to return and celebrate. This can make the income from remittances sustainable.

The destinations for finding employment abroad are similar to the destinations the adolescents mentioned for college or university. Again the most popular destination is the US this time followed by Guam, Pohnpei and elsewhere within the FSM and finally Hawaii. The differences between the destinations for school and for work are that Hawaii is apparently not a popular place to go for work while that is the case with education. Guam is however more popular as a place to work than to study. This is caused by the fact that it is close to Chuuk, but is a bigger island and therefore has more job opportunities. Also Guam is US territory which makes its economy more stable.

However almost all adolescents, except for three of them, want to come back to Chuuk someday or want to stay in Chuuk. These exceptions are partially caused by the fact that two of the students I interviewed did not consider themselves to be Chuukese.⁷ The other youth who did not mention wanting to work in Chuuk is Nisi, a Chuukese girl, but she has lived in the US for a long time with her family and therefore she prefers to live and work in the States. The 31 remaining youths all want to work in Chuuk at some point in their lives, but 21 of them also mentioned there is a chance that they might work abroad, which means ten of them prefer to stay in Chuuk. There are no differences between boys and girls in this matter. There is however a difference between the schools. All schools have three or more students who say there is no chance that they will work abroad, except Xavier High School where none of the students mentioned that. Of the adolescents that feel there is a chance that they will work abroad, just as many of them feel they have a big, middle or small chance of that happening. The only difference between the schools here is that students at Land Grant said they have either no chance of going abroad for work or a small chance of that happening. This is surprising since statistics show that mostly lower-educated people stay abroad, while high-educated people tend to return to Chuuk (Hezel & Lightfoot, 2005, p. 6).

⁷ John is in fact from Pohnpei but was attending school in Chuuk and Anna is half Yapese and half Chuukese, but since she has spent most of her life in Yap she considers herself to be more Yapese than Chuukese.

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The youths have several reasons that would make them come back to Chuuk or would make them stay there in the first place. An important reason is that it is home, as Ariana put it: 'it's my home, come back home.' The fact that family stays behind also makes adolescents want to stay in Chuuk or makes them want to come back. Pauline wants to stay in Chuuk because: 'I need to stay with my parents cause they always feel sick.' Another reason to stay in Chuuk or to come back is to help the people in Chuuk, as Stephen puts it:

'When people that get their degrees and all that they just go abroad, they don't come back any more. Like some people are complaining, "why, what is wrong with these people, why don't they come and help us out". And of course from my point of view yeah the state needs help and I want to help also.'

These reasons for either staying in Chuuk or moving away are also reflected in the way the youths would feel if they live outside of Chuuk. Mostly the youths say they would have positive feelings about living abroad, but at the same time there are also negative feelings involved, as is the case with Sera:

'I don't know how it would feel. I would feel lonely, mature.... Yeah. I would feel grown up. I would feel independent. But I am going to miss my family. I think it is going to be tough when I need help, because mostly if I don't have friends I usually rely on my family members, ask them for help. So if I go to the States, if I don't have friends and I don't have family it is going to be hard.'

Although she feels positive about being independent she also has negative feelings about missing her family. Eriko explained that having a goal when living abroad makes it easier for him to live there: '...I would just feel uncomfortable living somewhere else for no reason. I would rather stay with family and help them out than going somewhere else and do nothing.' His main reason for going abroad is helping his family as is the case with four other youths I spoke to.

Nisi feels positive about living abroad for another reason that was not mentioned by any of the other youths:

'I would feel independent. No more Chuukese that will say bad things and Idaho is a great place to live. People show more respect than Chuukese. They don't usually care about what you wear. And they don't have any traditions, culture. You know when the outer island girls when they saw their brother

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driving a car they have to sit down and it is kind of hard to sit down when a car is passing.⁸ That's why tradition is sometimes not really nice.'

I think her opinion about the downsides of culture and how being away from that would be good is partially influenced by the fact that she has been raised in the States for a big part of her childhood and therefore may have been influenced with more Western ideas about these traditional Chuukese practices.

Nisi is also the only one of the adolescents that is almost 100 percent sure that she is going to stay in the US forever and will not return to Chuuk to live there in the future. All the other youths that mentioned wanting to work abroad however intend their stays to be temporary. How long they will stay abroad was hard to guess for the youths; they either did not know or guessed to stay two to six years. There are four adolescents that consider staying outside of Chuuk forever, and this will be the case if they marry an American partner or a partner that prefers to stay in the US. Although some youths feel comfortable with the idea of living abroad, most youths have mixed feelings about it. They will feel good about their life there but six youths will only feel that way knowing that someday they will return home, as Jimmy explained:

'I think it is greater than working here in Chuuk, from what I see from other people, they are well off. It is not like the people working here. There are just too many problems. I wish I would be able to improve that but I don't think I am the person to do that. But I would come back because I am used to staying here. It is where I belong. I wouldn't want to die in a foreign land.'

This shows that even though many youths would work abroad, almost all of them would prefer to return to Chuuk and work there.

Conclusion

Statistics show that it will be hard to find employment in Chuuk since the government, in which many people are employed, will be cutting expenses and because unemployment rates are rising. However most adolescents feel they would have a good chance of getting a job if they have a high degree and if they are qualified for the job. They are aware of difficulties when trying to find a job and feel they would have

⁸ The tradition of sitting or crawling when a woman's brother passes by is meant to show respect to the brother and also has to do with sexual taboos in the family. I explain this more elaborately in paragraph 4.3 and 5.3.

some problems, but they are positive they can overcome these problems by working hard and/or asking family and friends for help. However there is a possibility things will not turn out they way they planned in which case the youths will try to find an alternative workplace or a different profession. In the last case all youths will try to find a job in a lower-graded occupation. Another option mentioned is migrating abroad. Moving abroad would however not only be done out of necessity, but also to gain experience, because of the availability of jobs or to provide better education for their children. The most important reason mentioned however is money. The higher salaries abroad will enable them to send money back to Chuuk to help their parents and family. These remittances will become more important for the Chuukese economy when more people migrate abroad, but in order for these remittances to remain a constant contribution to the economy these remittance must be made sustainable by retaining the bonds between Chuuk and the migrant communities. Overall almost all youths want to return to Chuuk at some point in their lives or prefer to never leave. The adolescents want to come back because Chuuk is their home and they would miss their family. This will make it hard for them to live abroad, but being able to help their family would make it worth it. However the fact remains that most adolescents prefer to live in Chuuk, even though it is to be expected that many of them will not be able to do that, because of the lack of employment on the islands. This might force them to leave home unwillingly.

3.3 The influence parents have on the adolescents' choice

The adolescents most of the time have a pretty good idea of what kind of education they want in the future and what they want their professions to be. Parents however do seem to have a say in where their children go to college or university, what major they choose and what kind of profession their children would have in the future. I will describe in this paragraph how choices of education and employment are influenced by parents and how differences of opinion between them are resolved. Since I didn't interview any parents, it is difficult to find out how the parents really feel about their children's choices in education or in the rest of their future. The views of the parents I portray here are merely the perceptions of the children of their parents' opinions.

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These perceptions can be biased by the children's feelings towards their parents or the issues they have with them. However I chose to include these topics, because they show how these youths perceive the influence their parents have on their decision making process.

With about half of the adolescents, the parents do not agree with their choice of school according to their children, and with half they do. In most cases the mother and father together had certain expectations for their children. However when telling me about what school their parents would like them to go to, some adolescents explicitly referred to their father as the person who had certain expectations on that matter. In three times in the mother was explicitly referred to, but in these cases the father of the student had passed away. This indicates that the father of a child in some cases has more influence on their child's choice of school than the mother has. This is consistent with the increased importance of the father within the household in the last decennia as a result of the introduction of the cash economy as described in paragraph 1.2.

The differences in opinion about which school to attend are usually resolved easily. Some adolescents say that if their parents insist on a certain school, they will attend that school even if they prefer to go somewhere else. There are a couple of reasons these youths have for doing that. Sita told me:

'Cause in our culture like if our parents tell us something to do but we don't do it, then it's like we know that something bad is going to happen to us. I might fail in my class, I would do bad in my class or something wrong bad might happen to me. That's like, that is what always happens. It is like part of our tradition or culture.'

Ariana said: 'I always agree with my parents on whatever, because I think that they are raising me the right way. I can really see the love, they really show me the love.' So in order for her to pay back the love she gets from her parents she wants to do what they want. But, as she explained: '...they are just showing me like the steps. But me I'm gonna have to pick what I think is right for me... I get the final say.' With Arthur the situation is a bit different since he moved in with an uncle after his mom passed away and his dad moved to Guam. He explained why he would do what his uncle wants: 'Because he took care of me so I treat him like my real dad... But just if he forced me I would do that.' This last statement is crucial. If parents choose to insist on a certain

school, their children have no choice but to go there. However most parents usually never insisted except in Joseph's case. His parents insisted he should go back to Chuuk to help out his sister and wanted him to go to the COM campus there. At first he did not agree: 'But he told me and explained and I was kind of thinking he has a good point, because I had to stay back.' It took him a while to agree because: 'I was mad. I mean they should respect that I am an adult I can do anything I want. But I am glad they did, they did what they did.' Being mad is a very common reaction to the differences in opinion between parents and children. Arthur said he felt: 'not comfortable... I just don't like people pushing me to do what I don't want to do.'

When parents and their children have a difference of opinion on for example what school to go to, sometimes the parents explain their choice. According to their children they have several reasons for wanting their children to attend a certain school. One of the reasons is money as Walter explained: 'My own brother he stay at Pohnpei in the college but I think we don't have enough money to go there too.' Another reason parents have is that they fear that their child might get off track at the school they chose for him- or herself. These fears are usually based on stories they hear about the school or previous experiences with other children as is the case with Lidy: 'They didn't want because my brother went there, my oldest brother and he kind of lost track there, he didn't really concentrate on school, he got distracted by his friends so that made them that they didn't want me to go.' The reasons that are most mentioned however are that parents want their children to go to a school that is near to relatives and/or near to home. The differences in opinion are in some cases resolved if the parents explain why they want them to go to a certain school, but more often the adolescents try to persuade their parents to agree with them as Lidy explained: 'I cannot go if they don't want me to, but if I explain more and tell them more often it would make them think, then they will let me go.'

Another matter the parents have a say in, is the student's choice of major. Just like with the choice of school about half of the parents have a certain major in mind for their child. The popular majors among parents resemble the majors the most popular majors of children. Law is most popular followed by education, medicine and business. With the choice of major there are of course also some differences in opinion

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between parents and their children, although there are less differences of opinion than with the choice of school. This might be caused by the fact that students sometimes did not know if their parents have any expectation as to what major they would do. The differences in opinion about what major to choose are usually resolved by the youth explaining to his or her parents or uncles and aunts why they would prefer a different major as Nisi told me:

‘I said oh man do I have to be a doctor. Everyone in my family, aunties and uncle wanted me to become a doctor and said so what is wrong with it. I said I don’t want to become a doctor. I like to be a lawyer. Why do you want to be that? Cause there are lots of criminals that I want to put in jail. And then they laughed and said it was ok.’

After explaining why they would prefer another major none of the parents insisted. Wendy explained:

‘My dad told me that he couldn’t choose a field for me like a major, cause it is my own interest and even the school. I have to choose what school I am interested in so if I have to go, I’ll work hard because it is my own interest. But if they choose but I am not interested in it, then I could fail, it doesn’t work out.’

Jimmy’s grandparents, by whom he is being raised, have a similar attitude:

‘They told me about the virtue of choice and they say it is all up to you. Life is all about making decisions and make wise decisions. Whatever goes with your heart you should do... This is an opportunity and I should seize it while I still can.’

Just like with the choice of major by parents, the most popular professions among them are lawyer, doctor and teacher. Business is only mentioned by Jimmy because his grandparents want him to have his own business so he can be his own boss. Lidy’s mother however doesn’t want her to go into business because she used to have a business and doesn’t want her to go through the problems that come with that:

‘She was like oh you know if you don’t listen to me you are going to end up like this, if you don’t listen to me you will see how hard it is. She said it was too hard, she says you would have to take a lot of stuff. Stress. You will want more, you will keep expanding your business... She said it’s your choice. But if something happens it is my own fault.’

Sita and Ariana both have parents that want each child to do a different job as Ariana explained:

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'They want each and every one of us to have a different career. So they want me to become a lawyer because the other ones have other professions. In case they need help with something, they ask for that the child that can help them with that. So if they need a doctor they go to that one. Easy access.'

Although not many differences occur, the differences are mostly dealt with by the youths explaining to their parents why they would want something different. Sometimes it is hard for the adolescents to disappoint their parents, as Walter mentioned: 'I would feel poor just stay in house and fixing car. I think I will not see my parents again just for a couple of weeks and then start to call them on the phone, say sorry.' Sharleen said: 'I will ask them for forgiveness, I will apologize. But I still do what I want.' This is the case with all the youths and their parents that have differences of opinion. If the parents do not insist on their hopes for their children, the youths can pursue the occupation that they like.

The fact that no serious conflicts seem to occur confirms that adolescents can nowadays be more open with their parents, as Oneism and Hezel (1992, p. 6) have stated. They however also state that this increases the possibility of conflicts between parents and children. The adolescents I interviewed however do not mention many conflicts. This is probably also caused by some reluctance to discuss these conflicts, since Chuukese people frown upon discussing these kind of conflicts openly. The adolescents did however mention conflicts, but these did not seem to cause too much tension between parents and child. The fact that the relationship between parents and child has become more open can therefore not only increase the number of conflicts but can also offer more ways to resolve these conflicts peacefully and thus decrease tension between the two parties.

The way choices are made about where to go to school, which major and what career to choose, shows that parents sometimes are a factor in the decisions. Parents and at times also uncles, aunts and grandparents have a say in what would be best for the adolescents. However none of the parents seem to insist on their will when their children explain why they choose certain schools or majors, according to the adolescents. Therefore the youths are the primary decision makers when it comes to education and employment, and this indicates that their individual choices will become more important.

Education and Employment

The emphasis on the choice of the individual is quite a recent phenomenon. The modern education and the differentiation in the economy have influenced the lives of youths because they have given youths more possibilities for the future. According to Eldering (2005, p. 188), youths in pre-industrial societies used to progress through life in a more or less standardized way. There were not many choices to make. Nowadays however youths have many more options in their futures. Hezel (2007, pp. 2-8) states that even small island societies used to recognise the importance of the individual to some extent, but that the community has played a very important part in the lives of the people of Micronesia in terms of landownership, which was never private, and space, like housing which was usually shared with other families. In about a century's time the individual has become more important. Land is now increasingly privately owned, youths have their own rooms in the house and people can vote on their own.

The emergence of the individual is also apparent in the choices that are being made by these youths about their future education. Parents do have an influence on the choice of their children when it comes to education and employment, but the main decision makers are always the youths. Parents can however assist their youths in their choice by suggesting a certain school or career, but the final decision is up to the youths. Many parents also feel that the choice should be up to the children and that it is best for their future if they decide themselves. The individual has therefore become more important in the choices that are being made when it comes to education and employment, and since the youths value this freedom of choice this process will continue in the future.



Figure 4: A house in Peniyesene, the village I lived in.

CHAPTER 4

THE YOUTHS' HOPES FOR THEIR HOUSEHOLD

After completing an education and finding a job the most logical step for many people in the world is to start a family of their own, and this is no different in Chuuk. After discussing education and employment I therefore turn to the subject of the household. In this chapter I answer the third research question namely: In which domestic situation do the youths want to live? I answer this question by describing what kind of household composition the Chuukese adolescents have in mind and how they intend to realise their plans. After that I give a description of what they want the relationship with their spouse to be like, followed by a description of the relationship the youths want to have with their children. I also discuss the parents' expectations on each of these three matters.

4.1 Composition of the household

When Chuukese adolescents want to form a household they usually get married and have children. There are however several steps to take before a marriage takes place. I will therefore first discuss where the youths expect to find a suitable marriage partner. Then I explain how a youth will make contact with a boy or girl he or she likes and how that will turn into a marriage. Next I describe how the adolescents will make additions to the household in the form of children and relatives.

4.1.1 Where to find a suitable marriage partner

Forming a family usually starts by finding a suitable partner, and in a Christian society like the Chuukese society this is often accompanied by a marriage. Among the Chuukese adolescents all except one would like to get married in the future. The exception in this case is Frandy. He told me he never wants to get married:

'...because I see my brother have wife and he has a lot of problems with his wife and wife's parents. Why does your husband not make food and money? That is why I will not get married. Because no parents bother me, just my parents bother me.'

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Frandy already has a girlfriend and they plan to go to college together: 'She would like to get married, that is her plan. My plan is different from her plan. But I am honest, she knows about that.' He told me she likes him anyway but that her parents might feel different if they have children together but do not get married: 'I think her parents don't like.'

Out of the 34 youths, ten mentioned having a girlfriend or boyfriend at the moment and hope to stay with their partner until marriage, but not all of them were sure they were going to be able to stay together until that time. Stephen explained:

'I have a girlfriend now but I don't know if I will marry her. She told me she would wait for me if I am in college... And if it is true what she says than I will wait for her in college too... I already asked her if she is sure and if she is not going to talk to someone cause I know that someone will go talk to her as soon as I am gone and she said she will wait. But I said she should think about it because it is going to be a long time.'

The adolescents that are not yet involved in a relationship usually expect to find a marriage partner in high school, either in college or outside of college, or after college. Five of the eight youths who mentioned this last answer are Xavier students. The fact that a high number of youths at Xavier High School want to wait to find a partner until after they have finished college can be caused by the relatively high standard of education they receive and the high ambitions many of these students have. Some of them, like Eriko, mentioned wanting to wait because they don't want relationships to interfere with their school results:

'Maybe I am going to concentrate on school first because it is just a waste of time to go to school for such a long time and then just go to college and get married. It is a waste of all the energy that I have put in.'

Six of the eight youths that want to wait are girls and their motive for waiting is the risk of getting pregnant during college, as Sita explained: 'Maybe after college so I can first concentrate all the way. Because I might get into an accident and I might get pregnant and instead of a blessing it will be a burden.'

Since most adolescents choose to go to college outside of Chuuk the youths come in contact with people from many different places and it is therefore possible that these youths will fall in love with a partner who is not Chuukese. Although some

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youths have no preference for a marriage partner from a certain origin, most of them prefer a Chuukese partner. One of the reasons adolescents mentioned for this preference is that they are more attracted to Chuukese boys or girls than to boys or girls from other places especially America. Joseph explained:

'I had a teacher who always told me to marry an American and I always say I don't know I don't get the same feeling with an American that I do with Chuukese girls. But then he said once you get used to that it will change. Just like now you are used to Chuukese girls cause you are around them. You are just familiar to Chuukese girls so if you are familiar with your feelings towards an American it will change. So if you stay on the mainland that will change. I have to say I like but I don't love. So I don't know. I might adjust myself.'

Language can also be a reason for preferring a Chuukese, and this is mostly mentioned by youths with less English proficiency. Cindy explained: '...because when I talk to him he'll understand.' A last reason for wanting to marry a Chuukese is having the same culture. This will make it easier to relate to each other as Jody told me: 'I can relate more to them. I have tried to date other guys and that didn't work out. They just understand you more with the culture and everything.' Sita prefers Chuukese on cultural grounds as well, but to her this is also related to a fear of losing her own culture:

'What they call a cultural shock. It will be hard for him to adapt to my culture and for me to his. It depends on the person. I am pretty old fashioned, but maybe if I marry an American I would adapt to his culture and act like an American. And that is improper when I come back. I don't want to lose my culture.'

Having some cultural backgrounds in common is however not only a reason for marrying a Chuukese; it can also be a reason for marrying a partner originating from elsewhere in Micronesia. Preferring a Micronesian partner was however only mentioned by students from Xavier High School. This is caused by the fact that these students have already been in contact with other Micronesians, since Xavier High School teaches students from all over Micronesia. Being in contact with these other Micronesians causes the students to realize that they have similar cultural backgrounds. Undoubtedly there have also been romances between students from different islands in Micronesia and this inspires the preference for a Micronesian partner.

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Other adolescents however do not find Chuukese or Micronesians more attractive than none-Micronesians. One of the boys at Land Grant, Seferino, told me he would prefer an American girl: 'I like the colour, of the skin, white skin. ... The Chuukese girls they are beautiful, but I just like the colour.' Two girls also prefer their partner to be non-Chuukese, but they did not express a preference for a specific type of foreigner. These girls both had different reasons for not wanting a Chuukese partner. Ariana told me that many Chuukese boys are not ambitious enough:

'I was just telling all my friends that I am not going to marry a Chuukese...I just don't see fertility in Chuukese guys. Cause I want prosper. I want a prosperous future.'

Nisi also prefers not to have a Chuukese partner: 'I look at Chuukese boys they are not really good. They are mean. They usually beat up their wife and I don't like that.' Spousal abuse is not uncommon in Chuuk and this subject will be discussed further in paragraph 4.2 when I describe the hopes Chuukese girls have for the relationship with their husband.

Three of the adolescents have a very specific preference for the origin of their marriage partners. These three want to marry a partner who originates from the same island as they do. All of them, one girl and two boys, originate from islands that are located quite a long distance from Weno, namely Paata and the Mortlock Islands. These islands are said to have maintained more of their cultural traditions. This contributes to these people choosing a marriage partner from their own island. In the past, before World War II, Chuukese people would prefer to arrange a marriage within their own community and island because marrying off the island could bring forth hostilities with a foreign community if the marriage went wrong (Bollig, 1927, p. 103). Also a marriage was always accompanied with an exchange of goods. Usually a man would have to provide gifts such as mats, jewellery and food (Krämer, 1932, p. 392). Sotonio explained that this exchange of gifts is still common practise in his community and that this is in fact the reason he would marry a girl from his own island:

'In Chuuk we have a system. The men are the ones that give the food and the women are the ones that receive the foods. So say I meet someone from Weno, I would get food from my island and bring it here for her family because the women receive the food and prepare it. For that reason they made a law against people marrying outside the islands because my island is a small

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island and there isn't much food there. So they want to keep it there. And if a boy marries outside the boy would have to give food from the island to her.'

Sharleen, who also originates from the Mortlock islands, would also choose a partner from her own island because of food exchange. Although she is traditionally the receiving party in food exchange, as explained by Sotonio, the girl's family should also contribute food for the wedding. There are two kinds of weddings in Chuuk. One is a small wedding when a priest is invited for a small ceremony at home. The other is a church wedding (Ashby, 1985, p. 95). These weddings are usually very big, as I have experienced when attending such a wedding during my research period on Weno. Marriages are a time in which all family members come together and Chuukese families are usually big since the average family size is around eight people. All the visitors to the wedding are supposed to be handed food and therefore large quantities of food are necessary. Both the family of the bride and the groom prepare this food and food that is prepared by one of the families is eaten by the other and vice versa (ibid., 1985, p. 96). For Sharleen this is a reason for marrying a boy from her own island because:

'If I marry one from lagoon when they [her family] come here they will brought something like food to give to the family of the groom. So that's why I want to marry from my own island because then I will have no problem buying things for the man's family.'

If Sharleen was to marry someone from the lagoon islands her family would have a hard time buying and transporting exchange goods like food from her island to the groom's family.

4.1.2 Dating: loving in secret?

After finding a boy or girl they are interested in, the adolescents have to make contact with this person in order for them to have a relationship. This is however easier said than done because dating in public is culturally prohibited in Chuuk. In the past youths were allowed to have sexual relations to a certain extent, but these relations were restricted by many regulations and were to be conducted discretely (Hezel, 2001a, p.111). A boy was not allowed to talk to a girl openly but used a family member of the girl to mediate. Girls and boys would meet in secret, but as soon as a relation became

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public the boy and girl would have to get married. The secret meetings were hampered by the standard that boys and girls were normally not allowed to interact with each other. This has now been severely changed mainly because boys and girls go to school together (ibid. p.111). During my visits to the schools on Weno I noticed that boys and girls interact quite freely with each other. At Xavier High School boys and girls even hug each other goodbye at the end of a school day; something that would be unheard of in the past. A study at Xavier also showed that boys found it easier to talk to girls because of the informal way both sexes interact with each other there (Wendel, 1998, p. 347). This made me interested in how the Chuukese youths interact with someone they like and how a relationship develops into a marriage. It was however not easy to get into detail about dating practices, because dating is still largely prohibited by Chuukese culture and this makes it a delicate subject for youths to talk about.¹ I therefore obtained only some general information on this matter.

All of the girls told me they never make the first move. Nisi told me: 'Mostly Chuukese girls wait for the boys to come and tell them that they like them. And then if the girl likes the boy then they talk to them.' Although none of the girls would approach a boy, some of the girls told that this does happen. Wendy explained: 'it is not really common to approach the guy. It is the guys approaching the girls. But since we are like adapting to other lifestyles without our local lifestyles then some people do that, some girls go to the guys.' This is however not the standard procedure and often it is not condoned, as Emy told me: 'Sometimes girls here in Chuuk do that and the boys go like; "why is that girl asking me out, I should be the one to do that".'

The boys I interviewed mentioned several ways in which they show a girl they like her. Most of them will just talk to her and tell her that they like her. Some of the boys will first try to figure out if the girl likes him back before they tell her, as Mike would do: 'I will just try to figure out if she is interested in me first and that I will just show her. Just ask different questions; where is she from and her name and just start

¹ This became apparent during many of my interviews because the youths tended to lower their voices and talk more quietly. Also many youths started to giggle or laugh when I first asked them about dating. Since I only had three months to conduct my research I was not able to develop a close enough relationship with my informants for them to be comfortable with telling me more than some general information about how boys and girls become a couple in Chuuk.

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there.' Other boys will be more straightforward when telling a girl how they feel, like Joseph:

'I will do it my way. Just go up to her and tell her. I always see these Chuukese guys that only talk to a girl when they are drunk. That is the only time when they can express themselves, cause they are not themselves. But I think that is chicken. They don't do it the way they are supposed to do it. Be clear and upfront with what you say. I always tell, come up to somebody and tell her how I feel. If they say no, it is ok because it is a relief that I told her anyway.'

Joseph's statement about the enhanced expressiveness of Chuukese boys when they are drunk needs more clarification. It might seem obvious that being drunk makes people more talkative and expressive of their feelings, but in Chuuk drunkenness is also connected to cultural values.² Chuukese culture does not permit people to express their anger, aggression and other feelings in public. Marshall (1979, p. 53) however explains that alcohol forms a cultural solution to this problem of not being allowed to express oneself. When drinking alcohol a person is considered to be temporarily insane and can no longer be fully responsible for his words and actions. In Chuukese culture it does not matter whether the person is actually drunk or not; as soon as alcohol has been used, even in very little quantities, the drinker can be considered temporarily insane. This also makes alcohol a legitimate way to express feelings one would normally not express (ibid. p. 53). If a boy tells a girl he likes her when he has used alcohol and she does not like him back, he can claim he was drunk and is therefore not responsible for his actions; all of it could have been untrue. When a boy is drunk, it is therefore easier to tell a girl how he feels because the consequences of being rejected can be undone by being drunk. Another way Stephen mentioned to tell a girl that he likes her is by calling or email her. This, like using alcohol, is also less of a direct way to approach a girl.

After a boy told a girl that he likes her, a girl can react in different ways. One way to respond is to start talking to him and get to know him. Some girls will tell a boy they like him too after he told her the same thing, like Antia would do: 'He would know that [she likes him] because he tell and then I tell him too.' Others will respond more cautiously. Anna told me she would never tell a boy she likes him at first: 'No

² In Chuuk only boys are allowed to drink. I am not sure the rules of drunkenness apply to girls as well. Most girls do not drink but some girls that return from college do because they did that in college as well.

definitely not. Just start to get to know each other first, make friends with each other and then in which ever way it goes.'

When a boy and girl finally are a couple they 'date' for a while to get to know their partner better. The dating that Chuukese adolescents do is not the kind of dating most Western couples do, like going out to dinner or a movie. Emy told me: 'They don't go to a restaurant or anything. That is against our culture. But they sneak around.' A couple is culturally not allowed to date in public and should try to hide the relationship from others to avoid gossip about them. This is why they sneak around. Wendy explained to me what students at the COM do when they sneak around: 'For students here they like meet on the campus and they hang out on cars.' A boy and a girl can secretly meet in a car to spend some time alone together. This is one of the reasons every car in Chuuk has tinted windows; that way outsiders cannot see who is in the car. I have also been told that sometimes another boy or girl gets into the car with the couple to avoid gossip about being a couple.

Sneaking around and hiding their relationship is something Chuukese couples have always done. In the past a Chuukese boy would crawl to the girl's house at night to meet her. These secret meetings were called *tééfán* (Ashby, 1985, p. 95). In public a couple would never show their feelings, even if everyone knows about the affair, because an open declaration of love would mean the intention to get married (Hezel, 2001a, p. 110). This is still prevalent in Chuuk. Even though people might know of the affair, a couple will not declare their love openly until they intend to get married. This is also the case with Pauline and her boyfriend. She intends to marry this boy but wants to wait until after school to get married. She would therefore date for: 'I think 12 years, when we finish college.' Her parents do not yet know that she has a boyfriend and she will not tell them about her relationship until they decide to get married. The other girls that have a boyfriend did already tell their parents about their boyfriend. It therefore seems that keeping a relationship a secret for a long time is not always necessary anymore now that youths can be more open with their parents.

Dating practices might also be less secret for Chuukese adolescents abroad because there is less control from the family or the community when they are in college. However many youths will still live with family members that will keep an

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eye on them. Also Sita told me that the Chuukese community on Guam, where she attends college, is very controlling: '...every time you walk with a guy they think negative, especially Chuukese. That causes trouble with all that gossip.' Thus in places where there are many Chuukese the social control from the family and community is still strong.

The period of time the youths would date differs from one month to twelve years, in Pauline's case. There are three youths that would date for a period of time from one month to five months, which is relatively short compared to how long other youths would date. Vincent told me he would date for one month: 'Then I know her well enough to get married.' Many youths however would want to date longer than that. Wendy told me:

'There are some that their dating is too short and they just date and they like each other and then they date for a week and then they get married the next week. And that can not work. And then people are really surprised. But some they date like a long time. They date like 4 years or 5 years and some they get married.'

Most youths would date a long time; between one year and four or five years. Jody explained why she would want to date a guy for three years before getting married to him:

'Cause I think I can know the person by then. Sometimes in the beginning of the relationship they pretend to be someone else, they don't let us see their flaws but after three years you will see them eventually, and if you still feel the same way then you can get married.'

Seven youths did not exactly mention how long they would date their partner before getting married, but just told me they want to wait until they finish college. For many girls this is connected to the fear of getting pregnant and not being able to finish college if this happens. If a girl gets pregnant however it does not always mean she will marry the father of her child. Wendy did not want to get married at first because she was afraid she might not finish college if she did: 'I kept on rejecting and I kept on stopping him until I got pregnant. Then the first two months he kept on asking again. But I really don't want. I love him but I really don't want to get married right away. ' Eventually however Wendy agreed to the marriage: 'I thought that if I get rejecting him all the time he would get tired of asking and let me go and then I would be

hopeless without him, without my child's father.' For Hanson a pregnancy would end the period of dating and would make him want to marry: 'Chuukese way is like first become friends, then the girl will have baby and then ask for marry.'

4.1.3 Marriage: how a lover becomes a spouse

A boy and girl stop dating when they announce their intention to get married to their parents. There is a standard procedure for this that most boys and girls would follow. The boy would first ask the girl to marry her. When she agrees the boy would go to his parents and ask them and other important family members to visit the girl's parents, where they will propose a marriage between the two. If the parents of the girl agree, then the boy and girl get married. This is the same procedure Krämer observed in 1908 (1932, p. 392) when he did his research in Chuuk, and this indicates that Chuukese youths will follow this traditional way of proposing a marriage. Many youths mentioned they will do this even if they marry a none-Chuukese partner, as Nisi told me: 'That is what we do and that is what I am going to do too even if he is not from Chuuk.' Gina explained why she feels it is important to propose this way: 'So we can show that we still respect that.'

In the standard procedure described, parents are an important influence in the final decision on a marriage. Wendy even stated: 'Here all the power is with the parents so even if I would say ok we will marry but my parents say no then it is no.' Jody told me: '...I wouldn't give an answer until my parents approve.' However most parents are considerate to their children's feelings according to Lidy: 'My parents are the kind that if they see that he is really serious and true then they won't keep saying no. That is how most people do it. Only a few Chuukese keep saying no but if the guy keeps asking most of them say yes.' This shows that the influence of parents in this matter is waning and that the individual choice of the youths is important.

The answers of the adolescents sometimes differ slightly when it comes to the procedure of proposing a marriage. Most youths, 24 out of 34 to be exact, told me that the boy would first ask the girl before going to her parents to ask for her hand in marriage. Five of the youths only mentioned going to the girl's parents to propose.

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Walter's plan for a marriage proposal also differs slightly from what other youths would do:

'...I will ride in a car and just pick her up and go to my house. Next when I get to my house, I tell my parents to go with me to her parents... Just go and say sorry for what I have done, that I just bring the girl from the town. Just tell her parents...I come tell them that I will marry her.

The procedure Walter describes, of first taking the girl to his house and then going to her parents house, was also used in the past in Chuuk but mostly when the girl's parents did not agree with the boy as a marriage partner, or if the girl had been promised to someone else in an arranged marriage (Krämer, 1932, p. 394). Arranged marriages used to be quite common but are becoming more rare nowadays (Hezel, 2001a, p. 79). However I did speak to two boys who would like their marriage to be arranged by their families. Benito, from Paata, told me: 'I go to my uncle. I say I want to take one my wife. He says ok I help you. And all the girls come and then I choose.' Sotonio also plans on having an arranged marriage. He explained how such an arrangement would take place:

'In my tradition for my family and my clan when I am here in high school and college that is the time when my family starts to look for my future wife. They will pick one and notify the family that they have picked that girl and it is done then it is culturally binding. It is hard for them to deny it and it is also hard for them to give that girl to someone else. But I will not know until I am done with what I am doing here and in college. When I come back they will tell me which girl they picked. That is our tradition... The mother of a person is the most suitable person to find a girl for me because she is really an observant. She won't just go around and pick someone. She will go around and observe for some time and when my mother is certain that she is the right girl for me she will go and notify the family and when the family knows we will be in the stage of an arranged marriage, so when I come back my mother will tell me this is what I observed, this is what I like about her, this is what I don't like and she will give me all the options and then it is up to me to approve or deny. So the final decision is up to me... Because I am the eldest [in the family] I can change it but if my younger brother wants to change it he has no choice... The tradition is that if the girl has something to say she only has a voice with her parents. If she doesn't agree she might tell her parents. If the parents also decide that she will marry me she doesn't have any choice.'

Sotonio's parents were also the only parents, that I know of, that have an arranged marriage: 'There was fighting and his uncle on father's side killed an uncle on mother side. So there was a big fight and to solve that his father and mother got married.' This

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shows that an arranged marriage can strengthen the bond between two families, as was often the case in the past (Hezel, 2001a, p. 79).

Except for the boys who plan on having an arranged marriage most youths hope to find a partner on their own, and after getting their parents' consent they will marry the partner of their own choice. This indicates that adolescents want to marry out of love and will be, in most cases, able to marry the person they choose because most parents will not keep opposing their children's wishes. Therefore youths today can make more of an individual choice of a marriage partner than Chuukese could in the past. Nowadays a marriage is becoming more of a union between individuals who love each other and the youths answers suggest that this trend will continue in the future.

The age at which such a union takes place differs among the adolescents. The majority of the youths want to get married between the ages of 29 and 31. One of the exceptions is Ariana, who would like to get married when she is 35, much later than most youths would. She explained why: 'I would like to make some changes in the society. Cause sometimes they just go and in the middle of college get married, or just graduate and get married. But me I want to go to school, come back, work work work.' Two girls at Land Grant also form an exception because they expect to get married much younger than most adolescents, at the age of 19 or 20. This could indicate that people with a somewhat lower education get married at an earlier age (table 18). Also girls expect to get married earlier than boys (table 19); they want to get married at an average age of 27 while boys expect to be around the age of 28.5.

I also gathered some information about at what age the parents of these youths got married. Not all youths could give me this information and some only made a rough guess.³ Still this information can give me a rough indication of whether the parents of the youths got married at different ages than their children would like to. This is indeed the case. Most parents were around the ages of 24 and 26 when they got married, while the majority of the adolescents expect to be 29 and 31. Many of the parents married before they were 24 and one of the mothers even married at the age of

³ I have no information about the age of marriage of the parents of the students at COM. When drawing up my interviewguide for the second interviews at COM I forgot to include this question. These were the last interviews I did right before my departure back to the Netherlands and I was therefore not able to obtain the information later on.

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15. In the older age categories males seem in the majority, while in the younger ages the females are in the majority (table 20). Overall the parents were younger when they got married, with an average of about 25 years old, than their children hope to be when they get married. This is also corresponds with the statistics of the Chuuk Census report which show that the average age when people get married increased from 25,3 in 1989 to 26,9 in the year 2000. Also females are usually younger when they get married than males are. In 2000 the Chuukese males where about 28 years old when they got married compared to 25,8 with the females (Chuuk Branch Statistics Office, 2002, p. 32). The fact that the youths plan to get married later than their parents is largely caused by the fact that they plan to be in school for a long time, and after that want to take the time to work and have a career. Especially for girls a higher education makes a marriage less of a goal to be quickly achieved (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 59).

4.1.4 Addition to the household: getting children

After getting married the normal course of life in Chuuk is to have children. Indeed all of the youths I spoke to want to have children in the future, even if they are not sure they will get married or if they don't want to get married. The age at which the youths would like to have children differs between girls and boys. Girls, with an average age of 27, expect to get children at a younger age than boys do, with an average of 29. There are also some differences between the schools. At Xavier High School and the COM all the youths expect to be 27 or older when they get children, while at Chuuk High School and Land Grant several adolescents expect to have children before they are 26 years old or even before they turn 23 (table 21). This indicates that students with a less high level of education want to get children at an earlier age than students with a higher education do. When comparing the ages the youths expect to have children to the ages when their parents had children⁴ it is clear that their parents

⁴ Again I have no information about at what age of the parents of the students at COM had children. When drawing up my interviewguide for the second interviews at COM I forgot to include this question. These were the last interviews I did right before my departure back to the Netherlands and I was therefore not able to obtain the information later on. At the school where I did obtain this information the youths were not always certain how old their parents where when they first had children and thus some of them made a rough guess.

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usually had children at younger ages than the youths plan to have children. While a majority of the youth plans to have their children between the ages of 27 and 32, most parents, according to their youths, had their first child between the ages of 21 and 29. The average age at which the parents had their first child is about 24,5 for the females and 26.5 for the males. This is much lower than the average ages of the youths (27 for females and 29 for the males).

These findings are consistent with the trends found in 2000 during the Chuuk Census. This Census showed that women in Chuuk today get children at a later age. Where most women used to get most of their children between the ages of 25 and 29, this has shifted to the ages between 30 and 34. This is probably due to the fact that people get married at a later age too (Chuuk Branch Statistics Office, 2002, p. 39). As with marriage, the later age of getting children is caused by the longer period of education because this gives people more options of what they can do with their lives. A higher education would entail getting a job that provides a higher income and planning a career. Getting children and starting a family simply compete with living a life of ones own (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 121). Therefore youths would like to postpone getting children until a later age so they can have a longer period of time in which they are free to live a life for themselves.

When planning to have children there are three issues that the youths take into consideration. One of these issues is being married. Most students seem to prefer getting children after they get married. The exceptions in this case are the three students who already had a child. Another issue to take in consideration is money, as Jimmy explained: 'It doesn't matter about the age, it is just the money. If I see that I have enough money for at least a child, then I might plan on having a child.' A last issue that two of the girls mentioned was their age when raising their children, as Anna told me: 'I want to have kids when I am young because I don't want them to grow up and I am old.'

I also asked the adolescents how many children they would like to have in the future. Only Sotonio did not have a definite answer to this question because he explained: 'I believe that children are a gift from God so I accept as many as God wants me to have.' The other youths did mention a certain number of children they

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would have in the future. Their answers range from one child to six children. Most youths however would like to have between two and three children. There are some differences between schools. Students at Xavier High School report the highest average number of children they would like to have (with an average of 3.5), followed by the COM (2.9), Chuuk High School (2.7) and Land Grant (2.1). This suggests that the higher their education is, the more children they would have in the future. In Chuuk people with lower levels of education tend to have more children than people with higher levels of education (Chuuk Branch Statistics Office, 2002, pp. 39-40) therefore my finding are not consistent with the statistics in the Chuuk Census. This inconsistency may be caused by improved education on family planning among adolescents which may have inspired the students at lower levels of education to have smaller families. It can however also be caused by money issues. People in higher levels of education tend to get higher paying profession which would enable them to support more children. This causes people in higher levels of education to expect to have more children. Of course the expectations for the number of children the adolescents have do not have to become reality in the future. In future youths that are now in lower levels of education might have more children than people in higher levels of education, perhaps due to a lack of family planning or less use of contraceptives.

The fact that the youths actually have a number of children they would like to have in mind, shows that getting children is to most of them a process of consideration. Because getting children limits their possibilities of a career, and because children are time and money consuming, the youths want to make sure they are ready for this. Getting children therefore becomes less a natural part of life and more an object of conscious calculation (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 126).

When comparing the number to children the youths would like to have in the future with the number of children their parents have there is a large difference. The youths' parents have an average number of children of 6.7 children, while the youths plan to have around three children. The number of children their parents have ranges between one child and 15 children, while the number of children of the youths desire ranges from one and six children. Large families are not unusual in Chuuk. As in most

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parts of the world the number of children in a family increased immensely when modern health care was introduced and family planning and contraceptives were not yet common use or available. The statistics of the Chuuk Census show that the number of children in a family has decreased over the years, from an average of eight children per woman in 1973 to 4.5 children per woman in 2000 (Chuuk Branch Statistics Office, 2002, p. 38). My results show that this trend will continue.

In conclusion, the youths expect to have fewer children in the future than their parents have. The youths have different reasons for wanting fewer children. The most important reason is that it is easier to support fewer children, as Mike explained to me: 'I don't want to be like my dad, work too hard every day just to support us.' Another reason is that fewer children are easier to control as Ariana told me: 'In a big family with a lot of kids they always fight so with less kids there is like less chance for them to get into fights every day.' The fact that Ariana wants to keep working when she has a family is also a factor in deciding to have fewer children: 'I might not have time for like work and I like wanna be a responsible parent. I wanna have time for my kids and all that.' Two of the youths, both coming from families with one or two children, would like a family with more children. Vincent would like that because: '...they can help each other and when me and my family grow old they can also help us.' The reasons youths have for deciding to have a certain number of children again shows that the youths make a conscious calculation in this matter. They make an individual choice of when to have children and how many of them they would like.

4.1.5 Addition to the household: resident relatives

In the past a household in Chuuk usually lived with the extended family of the wife. It was not uncommon for other family members to live with the immediate family members (a married couple with their children) in a single housing unit (Hezel, 2001a, pp. 11-12). Even up until today this is common practice in Chuuk. The Chuuk Census shows that in 2000 about 26 percent of the members of a household were resident relatives, and this percentage has decreased a little over the years (Chuuk Branch Statistics Office, p. 29). I therefore wanted to know whether the Chuukese adolescents

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are also expecting family members to live in their homes when they have a family of their own.

Indeed almost all youths, 30 out of 34 to be exact, expect other relatives to live with them if they have their own family. To about half of these it does not matter which family members will reside with them. Others mostly mentioned their parents will reside with them, and six of these are girls. The fact that mostly girls mentioned this is not surprising because in Chuuk taking care of the parents is usually viewed as the daughter's job as Marilyn explained: '...since I am the girl... Like if they need me they can just come and stay at my place. Or if they are in trouble I can help them.' The adolescents want to take their parents in when they are old because they want to repay them for raising them, as Sotonio said: 'It would be an honour for me to pay back for the hospitality they have offered me.' Others might also want siblings or cousins living with them because family can help them, as Antia told me: 'When I go to work they stay home with the kids. I can help them, my parents, and they can help me.'

However having resident relatives also has its drawbacks. Jimmy explained how he would feel if family was living with him:

'...kind of stressed... about the bills and the amount of people I will have to support. Because you know they have no place to stay, food. You have to be the one to provide for them. It is really hard when you want to use your money for something else but the people are in need so you have to sacrifice at least some.'

Sita has another reason for not taking family in: 'In our culture we are supposed to be like that. But I grew up living with my own immediate family, growing up. So I am not used to living with my relatives. It wouldn't be that comfortable with a lot of people around.'

The youths would not only take in family in Chuuk, but also if they live abroad, like Marilyn told me: '...if I am in the US, my nephews, my brother's daughter or my cousin's children will come for school.' Wendy might take in family in the US as well but has some doubts:

'Maybe that's a little harder than here. Because here, if we don't have money for some other things, we have our own food from our land, and we have our own place so we don't really need that much money. But out there you need money... because we have to buy everything, food, a house and all those. So

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maybe out there I won't mind if it is like few, but if maybe there is lots of family members... that's not really that good.'

This is one of the reasons why Joseph would prefer not to have resident relatives. He feels his relatives should try to live on their own, especially in the US:

'They have to work for it if they want to stay there and come to the States. They have to be prepared for the States. They say it is a free country but is it not because you have to pay your way so... You have to live; have to try to live on your own'

Although some youths feel it is hard to take care of other relatives and that it can be a burden they also feel it is important to take care of their family. Their parents usually also expect family to live with them because it is part of the culture, like Sera told me: 'That is how it is in our culture.' Many parents would want their children to take in family because it is what they do as well. Katina's parents feel it is important for her to take in family: 'To show the family that they like that [to take care of their family].'

Over all it shows that most adolescents expect to have relatives living with them once they have their own family, especially in Chuuk where it is customary to do so, even though it may sometimes be a bit of a burden. There are however youths who feel it would be better if no relatives lived with them or just their parents. Especially if people migrate abroad it might be harder to support family members. Therefore the percentage of resident relatives in the Chuukese households will probably decrease. This is consistent with the trend that over the years the household consists increasingly of parents with their biological children (Chuuk Branch Statistics Office, 2002, p. 33). In the future this will probably become the model of the Chuukese household.

4.2 The relationship with their spouse

As is to be expected, the Chuukese adolescents would like to have a good relationship with their spouses. However there are some differences in how they define a good relationship. For many youths it was hard to describe what a good relation entails, so I tried to get a more detailed description of the relationship they would like, by asking them how they would like to be treated by their spouses and how they would treat

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them in return. This resulted in more detailed information.⁵ In this paragraph I describe how the adolescents want to be treated by their spouse and how they in return would treat them. I also describe how the youths will divide the chores in the household between them and their spouse.

How a spouse should be treated

The adolescents describe how they would like to be treated by their spouse in somewhat similar phrasings. The things that were mentioned most were the importance of love, care and respect. A spouse should also help his partner, they should work together. They also want their relationship to be peaceful, without arguments and fights. They want to be able to communicate with each other and help each other with problems, but also have fun together. It is also important for two of the youths that their spouse would also treat their relatives well. These things are important to all of the youths, no matter what gender they have or what school they attend. There are however some things that were mentioned only by girls or mostly by girls. Five girls mentioned they want their spouse to be there for them and to support them. Another thing that was only mentioned by girls was to have equal rights in the relationship. They want their husband not to abuse them verbally or physically. It is not surprising that this subject came up during the interviews. Spousal abuse is unfortunately quite common in Chuuk, as in the rest of the Federated States of Micronesia. It is hard to find out exactly how many wives are the victims of domestic violence, but estimates state that about 40 to 50 percent of all wives get beaten by their spouses or other family members at some point in their lives (Micsem Monthly Discussion, 1994, p. 1). This was a reason for Sharleen to mention she wants her spouse to be submissive to her: 'He has to work to me...to be submissive to me to have a peaceful family.'

There are also some differences between schools in how the adolescents want their spouses to treat them. The first difference is that at Xavier and COM students

⁵ To some, especially the youths whose English proficiency was somewhat lacking, words as 'relationship' and 'treat' were unfamiliar. It was hard to rephrase these questions since at first I had to improvise. I used questions like, 'how would your spouse be to you?' and 'how would the contact between you two be?' Still these questions were hard for some to understand, but most students understood well enough.

were able to name more details of how they would like their spouse to treat them than students at Chuuk High and Land Grant were able to do. This is caused by the lesser English proficiency at these last two schools. Another difference is that being treated with respect is not mentioned by the students at Land Grant and only by one student at Chuuk High, while at the COM and Xavier several adolescents mention that. This indicates that being respected by a spouse is more important to people with a higher education. Also having equal rights in a relationship was only mentioned by girls from Xavier. This suggests that they are more aware of this subject than students at other schools. Indeed Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2002, p. 59) suggest that if the educational opportunities between sexes become more equal, the inequalities in the labour market lose their legitimacy, which makes women more aware of their rights. This indicates that the higher the education, the more equal a woman will feel to males and the more aware she will be of her rights. Since youths nowadays become more educated in Chuuk, Chuukese women might become more aware of their equality to men.

A last difference between schools is that students at Land Grant seem to view the relationship with their spouse more in terms of what their spouse can do for them or provide for them. Only at this school did girls mention that they want their spouse to buy them things, like food and a car. The fact that higher educated youths did not mention this can be related to individualisation. Because of this process a marriage becomes a union between two individuals, usually out of love. Through individualisation therefore the marriage becomes more based on emotional connections, rather than it being a union based on material tasks (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 71). This is also illustrated by the fact that love, care, respect and being supportive are important to the youths in a relationship.

More or less the same sorts of answers were given by the adolescents when discussing how they in return will treat their partner. Loving them and helping them were again the most important things, as well as respect and honesty. Again students at the lower levels of education tend to view their relationship towards their spouse in terms of what they can do for the other. Three girls mentioned they will cook and clean for their spouse and two boys want to buy a car or food for their spouse. Three boys at Xavier mentioned spousal abuse; they told me they will not hit their wives.

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The fact that this was mentioned only by the students from Xavier indicates that they are more aware of women's rights, and this could suggest that students in higher levels of education are better educated on this matter.

Most youths say they want roughly the same relationship with their spouse as their parents have together. Nine of the youths however would do some things differently than their parents have done. In all cases this has to do with the fact that their parents fight a lot and they would like this to be different in their own relationship, as Lidy explained: 'It is not good for the kids and for our relationship.' If the estimate that 50 to 60 percent of all women have to deal with spousal abuse is correct then more of the adolescents' parents would be expected to have fights. However not all youths would feel comfortable talking about that, since abuse is shameful to the family. Though only nine youths mentioned they want a different relationship with their spouse than their parents have, in fact more youths might want that.

Division of household chores

I also asked the youths about the division of the household chores they would prefer in the future. I asked specifically for what kind of jobs or chores they will do in the house and what kind of chores their spouse will do. Traditionally women in Chuuk performed many of the household chores, took care of the children and did some shoreline fishing. Men were involved in deep-sea fishing, planting the gardens, building canoes and houses (Hezel, 2001a, pp. 46-47). The men provide the food and the women prepare it. This division of chores is still to be found in how the adolescents would divide the household chores in the future. The women's jobs that were mentioned are cleaning the house, taking care of the children, cooking the food and washing cloths and dishes. Specific men's jobs that were mentioned by both girls and boys are fixing the house and the car, farming, cutting the grass and fishing. Also some chores were mentioned, mostly by girls but also by some boys, which are not traditionally men's jobs like taking care of the children and cleaning the house. These are not only mentioned more by girls, but also more by students attending the higher level schools. This suggests that girls want the chores to become more equally divided

in the future and that higher educated students want that more often than lower level students do. This is also connected to working outside the house, as three girls want. Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2002, pp. 56, 101-102) state that when women get a higher education they more often want a life of their own beyond the family and they want to keep working. They therefore want their husbands to help them out in the household and divide the tasks more evenly. The family is still important to them but they would also like more independence. This is also apparent when looking at the answers of the higher educated girls.

Most adolescents, 23 to be exact, would want the same division of household chores as their parents have. Eleven however want something different in their relationship. Most of them would want a more equal division of chores, like Stephen: 'It's my mom who is doing everything. My dad just goes to work, comes back and sits. So it turns out I am the one doing the man's work... Of course if I do get married I don't want to do that.' Jody has parents who have reversed the women's and the men's roles because the father does not have a job. She would want the more traditional division of the chores: 'I would like it to be the other way around. I clean the house and stuff and he works to get everything that we want.'

In conclusion it is obvious that most youths would like a good relationship with their spouse. In this relationship the traditional gender roles, in which a man works outside the household and a woman inside, are still prevalent. However some of them, mostly youths in higher levels of education and more girls than boys, are familiar with women's rights and feel that a more balanced relationship would be better. Also some youths would like the household chores to be more equally divided. This seems to indicate that in the future, the position of men and women within the household might become more equal and this is largely caused by more equal education opportunities which inspire individualisation.

4.3 The relationship with their children

The Chuukese youths want to have a good relationship with their children and want to be close to them. As with the subject of the relationship with their spouse I asked the youths how they would treat their kids and how they would want to be treated by

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them, instead of asking about their relationship, in order to obtain more detailed information. There is a similarity between the answers of the youths on the subject of their relationship with their spouse and with their children. With both subjects students at Land Grant were not as detailed in their answers as students at COM or Xavier High School, due to their lesser English proficiency. In this paragraph I discuss how the adolescents will treat their children and how they will raise them. I also discuss what they would like to teach them about Chuukese culture.

How parents and children should treat each other

When asking them about how they would want their children to treat them, one of the first words that came into mind with 20 of the adolescents was that they want to be treated with the respect a parent deserves. There is a difference between the schools on this subject; higher educated youths seem to mention this more than lower educated youths, as was the case in the previous paragraph. A second important matter is obedience; they want their children to listen to them. Ten of them, mostly girls, want their children share with them, almost like a friend. When talking about sharing, many of the girls also refer to the relationship they have with their mother and would want the same kind of relationship with their children.

When discussing how they will treat their children the answers most mentioned had to do with love, care, advising them, listening to them, helping them with their problems and being there for them. These last answers are usually connected to another thing that would be important in the relationship with their children, namely talking to them and sharing with them. Three of these youths attach a somewhat different meaning to talking to their children. To them talking to their children is opposed to beating them, as Frandy explained: 'When my parents make me some teach, they have a lot of big stick and take to me and then I cry and I don't like to do that with my kids. I talk a lot of time to my kids.' Not all youths however agree that beating their children would be a bad way to treat them. Three of them, all boys, would slap their children to teach them discipline. Disciplining their children is mentioned by eight other youths, but they did not disclose how they will discipline their children. The adolescents also want their children to have a better life than they

had but they will try to do this without spoiling them. Lidy feels her parents gave her what she wanted too easily: 'My parents they give me anything I want, and not that good because now I always ask them for things, I cannot work it on my own. So I think I would like my kids to earn what they want.'

There are some differences between the adolescents in how they will treat their children. As with the relationship between the youths and their spouse, when it involves their children, the students at Land Grant and Chuuk High seem to view their relationship more in terms of what they can do for their children, such as buying them food. They also use practical terms when discussing how they would want their children to treat them; only at these two schools did students mention they want their children to help them with their chores. At Xavier and COM adolescents mentioned they would not want to be too strict with their children and would want to give them some freedom. Two youths at Xavier also mentioned they would want to stimulate and support their children. The only differences between boys and girls are that only girls mention wanting to share with their children and wanting to be their friend and only boys mention they would spank their children.

As mentioned before some of the girls referred to their mother as an example of what they would want their relationship with their children to be. In fact most youths want to have the same kind of relationship with their children as they have with their parents. Only eight of them would want some things to be different. Three girls would like their children to share more of their lives with them than they did with their parents. This shows that they want their relationship to be more open. One of the boys, Frandy, said he would not hit his children, while his parents did hit him.

The children's upbringing and the role of Chuukese culture in it

I also inquired about what these youths would like to teach their children and what would be important when they raise them. To a large majority of the youths, 25 to be exact, education is going to be very important in the raising of their children. Another thing that the adolescents want to teach their children is respect towards others and living Christian lives. There are only two matters on which the youths differ in what they want for the upbringing of their children, namely independence and planning for

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the future. Independence is mostly mentioned by students from Xavier High School and also more by girls than by boys. This is caused by the emphasis on independence in Xavier's teachings and therefore many of the students want to pass this on to their children (Wendel, 1998, pp. 358, 360). Only students at Land Grant mentioned 'planning for the future'. Perhaps having the experience of dropping out of school has made these students realize they do not want that for their children. Most youths told me they would raise their kids like their parents raised them. Only five youths would want to do something different, like Kamy who told me: 'When I was lazy to go to school they never forced me to go to school. I would.'

Chuukese culture would also be important to the adolescents when they are raising their children. To three of the youths, all at Land Grant, the terms culture and tradition were however not familiar. This could be caused by their lesser English proficiency. However this does not mean they would not teach their children Chuukese culture. It could be that their way of raising their children contains aspects that other youths labelled as cultural or traditional. These youths did not specifically label them as such. To them tradition is a lived-in reality that comes natural (Otto, 1993, p.8). Other youths however consciously label some practices as cultural and traditional. This gives these practices more importance (*ibid.*, p. 8).

Respect is mentioned most frequently by the youths that would like to teach their children cultural practices. Respect has always been very important in Chuukese culture, especially within the family, and is connected to taboos on sexuality. Within a family brother and sister as well as father and daughter were supposed to avoid each other, not sleep in the same room, not refer to sexual matters in front of each other and not eat the same food. Also a woman was supposed to bow or walk on her knees when passing a male relative who was sitting down to show her respect (Krämer, 1932, pp. 395-396). Respect had to be shown to older people in the community because of their seniority (Hezel, 2001a, p. 122). Although the respect behaviour between brothers and sisters has weakened (*ibid.*, p. 116) showing respect is still important to many youths. Most youths remain quite vague about how they would teach their children to respect others. Only four youths would also teach their children respect behaviour as Emy explained: '...show respect for the elders, and when we see a man sitting down we

don't walk around.' This could indicate that practices of respect behaviour are waning in importance and that the adolescents will use other ways to express their respect to people.

Another cultural matter that some adolescents feel is important is teaching their children to prepare and eat local foods, and to fish. These things were mentioned more by students in higher levels of education. This could be caused by the fact that these students sometimes expect to live abroad where it would be harder to find local food. When living in Chuuk eating local food is self-evident and thus adolescents who plan to stay in Chuuk, mostly the lower educated ones, might not even consider this something they would have to teach their children. Sita's parents, who have always lived on Chuuk, however explicitly taught her about the importance of local food: 'They forced us to eat local food, so we can survive if there is no more imported food.' She will also teach her children that. Three of the youths would want to teach their children how to farm, how to pick breadfruit⁶ and how to preserve it. Traditionally breadfruit would be cooked, then pounded to a mash and then wrapped in banana leaves and buried in pits where it would be kept for later days (Krämer, 1932, p. 212). Farming and picking breadfruit was only mentioned by boys since this is traditionally a men's job, while fishing is done by both men and women (Hezel, 2001a, p. 47). There are also some cultural things only girls mentioned teaching their children, like teaching their girls what to wear, how to make local handicrafts and how to set fires. These are also traditionally women's chores, which again shows that some youths want to preserve the traditional role patterns between men and women.

Other cultural skills that only three of the adolescents will teach their children are Chuukese dances, navigational skills and local medicine, like Mike would: 'Maybe the Chuukese dances that women do, maybe my relatives could teach them. And my aunts know the local medicine so maybe that too.' Mike however only knows some of these skills himself, and in fact few of the adolescents know them. Mike therefore mentioned that if he and his family live abroad he might not teach them these kinds of skills because: 'I don't have a lot of family there to teach them.' Mike's statement

⁶ A Breadfruit is a local food that tastes somewhat like a potato and grows on tall trees. When it is cooked and pounded the Chuukese call it *kkón*, and it is considered a local delicacy.

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shows that relatives are important when learning Chuukese culture. The adolescents learned what they want to pass on to their children from their parents or other relatives. When they don't learn certain cultural skills or values those will not be passed on to their children, as Jody explained: 'I don't know any traditional skills, so I cannot teach them.' Mike's statement however also shows that it might be more difficult to teach his children about Chuukese culture abroad. Joseph explained:

'I think they would learn more here because they might get more from experience and stuff. But in the US it would be more talking and less doing. In the US there is no place to get a breadfruit so it would be hard to teach them how to get a breadfruit off a tree and cook it and pound it.'

Eriko is the only youth that told me he would not teach his children about Chuukese culture because: '...it seems like our culture is fading away nowadays, so culture might not matter anymore.' Most people however do feel teaching their children about their culture is important because they want to preserve their culture, like Wendy explained: 'I don't want them to forget our culture even though we have to live in a Western lifestyle but I think culture is valuable so we need to keep holding on to that.' Another important reason for wanting to teach their children about Chuukese culture is that they feel it is embarrassing if people lose their culture, as Ariana explained: 'It might be a disgrace, like they go to this school and they say: ok we are going to perform this cultural dance. And then they don't know that and then they will say: what kind of Chuukese are you?' The explicit valuation of their culture might therefore be caused by the fading away of this culture.

Conclusion

Many of the youths take their parents as example when it comes to children. They would often like a relationship with their children like the one they have with their parents and most of them would raise their children as their parents have raised them. Some of the adolescents however do want to raise their children differently. They want them to have more freedom and want to have a more open relationship with them. When they do want to raise their children in a different way than their parents did no problems seem to arise. This indicates that the way the youths raise their children is

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their own decision as Ariana told me: ‘They would let me treat my kids in my own way.’ This is different from how Chuukese children were raised in the past, when the extended family, which usually lived nearby, would also help with bringing up the children. Now that the nuclear family has become more important in Chuuk, childrearing is more up to their parents ⁷(Hezel, 2001a, pp. 21-22). The raising of the children might become even more solely the job of parents once they migrate abroad since there are fewer relatives present there. Also it might be more difficult to teach children about Chuukese culture abroad since there are fewer relatives to help teach them. This could result in Chuukese culture fading away. However many of the adolescents value their culture and want to preserve it in the future. In fact the youths might become more aware of their culture because of contact with people from a different cultural background (Otto & Pedersen, 2005, p. 32). This can even result in them valuing their culture even more.

⁷ See paragraph 1.2 about the changes in the Chuukese family, mostly because of economic changes.

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Figure 5: A family during Sunday church service

CHAPTER 5

THE IMPORTANCE OF FRIENDS AND FAMILY

The family has always been very important in Chuuk. In the past the extended family was especially important because this was the group in which food was produced, processed and distributed, and they lived closely together in adjacent houses (Hezel, 2001a, p. 8). Eldering (2005, pp. 190-191) states that in pre-industrial societies the family remains important during every phase of life. As an adult the economic and emotional dependency on family in these societies still prevails, while in industrial societies the bond between a person and his or her family weakens over time. Hence in industrial societies friends become more important. In the process of becoming a more industrialised society the youths can therefore be expected to put more of an emphasis on friends than on family in their future. To find out if this is indeed the case with the Chuukese youths I asked them about friends and family and their importance in their lives now and in the future. In this chapter I first discuss my findings on the subject of friends followed by a description of the situation of one of the youths who was adopted. Being adopted altered the way he values friends and family. In the third paragraph I discuss the importance of family. By doing this I answer the fourth research question namely: What role do they want friends and family to play in their life?

5.1 The importance of friends

All of the Chuukese youths I interviewed, except for one¹, have friends at the moment. They have made these friends at school, either in the school they attend now or previous schools, and in their villages. Eighteen of them have friends of both sexes. Six of the youths only have friends of their own sex. Of these youths four are girls and these girls all go to Land Grant or Chuuk High. This might be caused by less informal contact between boys and girls at these schools. When I visited the schools I noticed

¹ This was Mike. He stated that he did hang out with people at school but did not trust them enough to become friends with them. He therefore has a lot of friends with the family, who he feels he can trust.

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that at both Xavier High School and COM boys and girls sit together during breaks and made jokes with one another. At Chuuk High the students sit more with their own sex during lunches and classes. Some of the groups of students I saw however were mixed. At Land Grant I did not see groups of students that were mixed. This indicates that students at Chuuk High and Land Grant are not as comfortable associating with the other sex as students at Xavier and COM are.

There are also two students who have more friends of the opposite sex. They are however closer to the friends of their own sex, as most students are. Only nine out of 33 students ² indicated that they are just as close to their male and female friends. More girls than boys said they are closer to friends of their own sex. Sera explained why she is closer to girls: 'We just have more in common and we can talk more. Guys they never know what they want you to say and what not. They go like; no don't tell me that!' Jody feels the same way: 'We can share our secrets without thinking of ways to tell them respectfully and I can relate more to the girls.' Joseph also feels closer to his male friends because: '...you can not tell a guy's information to a girl. It is better for girls and guys to share stuff apart.' Wendy however feels it is sometimes easier to talk to boys: 'Sometime it is easier to talk about boyfriends with the boys. Just for a consult and advice from the boys view.'

The adolescents all chose their own friends without being influenced by their parents. The parents however do have a certain image in mind when it comes to their children's friends. Most parents would like the friends of their children to be respectful, they should not use drugs or alcohol and they should be enrolled in school. Most of the youths agree with their parents, but some of the youths do have friends that do not fit their parents' profile. Gina has friends that their parents would not approve of: 'I have friends that chew³ and I am ok with that as long as they are ok with me not taking it.' The same goes for Lidyl:

'I have friends that are not in school and friends that are in school and friends that drink so I have different friends... They don't like me to go with them.'

² I only have information about friends from 33 students since I was not able to interview one of the boys at COM for a second time since he had departed to his home island.

³ Gina's friends chew betel nut. As explained in paragraph 3.1.3. A betel nut the seed of a betel palm, which people chew on because of its mildly stimulating effect. In Chuuk the nut is split open and stuffed with a mixture of tobacco and lime.

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Sometime when I ask if I can go to a party with them they say yes because they feel like I am forcing them and sometimes they will tell me no.'

As Lidy's statement shows, having friends their parents do not approve of does not seem to raise any serious problems between the adolescents and their parents. A youth's friends are thus largely his or her own choice as an individual. Sera's parents therefore leave it to her to choose her own friends: '...cause they expect me to find good friends.'

The Chuukese youths see their friends inside school but outside school as well. The frequency of seeing their friends outside of school varies from one time a week to every day of the week. Some youths however only see their friend inside school or when they meet them by coincidence on the road or in stores. Of the adolescents that see their friends almost every day outside of school most are boys, while the girls are in the majority among youths that only see their friends in school. This shows that boys see their friends more outside of school than girls do. This can however be influenced by the students at Xavier High School. The boys at this school reside in dorms so they see their friends outside of school every day. The girls however live with host families all over the island which makes it hard for them to visit each other. However even when accounting for this factor, girls see their friends less than boys. This might be explained by the lesser mobility of girls. Since it is usually not safe for girls to go out at night it is hard for them to meet friends after dark. This is easier for boys. There is also a difference in which friends the youths see outside of school.

Many youths, 24 of them, also mentioned having relatives they consider as friends. Most of these are cousins but some youths also named siblings as friends. Although Ariana has other friends, she considers her younger sister as her best friend: 'My friends are my sister, my younger sister and some of senior girls, all of the senior girls. But the closest is my sister.' Some of them also have aunts or uncles that are their friends, though these are not always older than they are as Anna explained: '...some of my aunties are the same age as me.' Age is an important factor with relatives that are also friends, since mostly they have about the same age as the youths. Jody told me: '...most are a bit my age and older.'

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I also asked the youths if they are closer to the friends they are related to and most of them are. Only five adolescents mentioned being closer to friends they are not related to and they all attend Xavier. However it is hard to tell whether youths at Xavier attach more importance to friends they are not related to than other youths since I don't have information on this matter from twelve youths⁴. The reason two of the students at Xavier have for being closer to their not-related friends is that they trust them more, as Sera explained to me: 'I think they are more objective. If we have problems in the family you can not really tell them because they might be thinking the same as the rest of the family.' Trust is however also a reason to be closer to friends that are related as Lidy told me: 'We [her not-related friends and her] do hang out but I don't really tell them personal stuff because if our friendship doesn't work out they could just go tell everybody but my sister [her cousin]⁵. I really trust her.' Another reason for being closer to friends they are also related to is that they grew up with these friends. Hanson explained: '...we know each other well from long before that is why I am closer to them.'

Trust and growing up together are also two reasons youths have for deeming family more important than friends, as 19 of the adolescents do. Another reason for this is that family is always there for you. Jody explained why she feels this is important: 'Family is there to stay. Friends sometimes come and go.' Two boys at Land Grant feel that family is important because they provide for them. Walter explained that family is more important than friends: 'Because they buy me some foods or some clothes.' As shown in the previous chapter, the students at Land Grant seem to view their relationships more in terms of what others can do for them. Next to the 19 youths that feel that family is more important, twelve youths feel that friends are just as important as family. They feel this way because to them friends are like family. Joseph told me: 'There is no difference, family is friends and friends are family.' Two youths also deem friends to be more important than family at the moment. Arthur, who has been living with his uncle's family since his mother passed

⁴ I did not ask this question to thirteen of the youths because I entered it later on in my research and was not able to ask the twelve youths about this because I had no time left to do so.

⁵ Lidy refers to her female cousin as her sister because this girl is her best friend and Lidy doesn't have any sisters of her own. She expressed to me that she would have liked to have a sister and this is why she treats her cousin as if she was her sister.

away, explained why: ‘...because I don’t really live with my family anymore then friends are important.’

Even though almost none of the youths feel friends are more important than family, almost all of them do feel they are important in their lives. The most important reason they have for deeming friends important is that they help and support them in many different ways. Some, like Arthur, highlight emotional support: ‘Because I can share my problems and sometimes when I am down they can make me happy. They are very supportive.’ Others put more of an emphasis on what friends do for them, like Pauline: ‘If I don’t have a pencil or a pencil sharpener they find one for me.’ Friends can also be important when in need of advice but, as Emy explained, this is mostly just in case family is not there to help her: ‘When I have problems they are the ones I turn to. They are like my sisters. When I cannot call my sister I call them.’ Six youths also mentioned friends are important because they have fun together.

Because friends are important to most youths, 25 of them would try to keep in contact with their friends if they go to different colleges. They would do this by phone, writing letters, and also by email and chatting. The internet was not mentioned as a way of communicating with friends at Chuuk High and Land Grant because these youths have not yet learned how to use the internet since these schools do not have the facilities to teach them. Most of the youths would try to contact their friends once or twice a week. Some would even contact them every day. This was mostly mentioned by girls indicating that girls will contact their friends more often than boys would. The people who would contact their friends every day all go to Xavier and COM and all of them would use the internet for this. The other youths would contact their friends once or twice a month or whenever they have some free time.

When they are in college the youths will not only keep in contact with their old friends but also make new friends. All youths, except for the youths at Land Grant, told me it would not matter where their friends originate from. Only at Land Grant did the students prefer Chuukese friends because they feel they will have problems communicating in English. Cindy explained: ‘We can talk in our language.’

The youths expect to see their friends just about as much in college as they do now. And the same patterns occur for boys and girls: Boys see their friends quite

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frequently while girls less their friends less often. Although they would not see their friends more in college, some of the youths do think that friends might become more important when they live abroad. Stephen told me: 'It is another family at a far away place from home.' Seferino also feels that friends would be more important because: '...because I will be far from Chuuk and I think that my friends will really take care of me.' Fourteen of the youths therefore feel like family and friends would be just as important in college. Sera explained: 'Cause I think I am going to rely on them more in the future. They have become part of my family to me. I rely on my friends like I rely on my family.' Most adolescents however feel that family will still be more important to them. This is not surprising since many of the youths will live with relatives while in school, which makes family a more predominant factor in their lives.

Once the adolescents are out of college most of them would like to return to Chuuk, as discussed in chapter three. There they would make new friends at their job but also see their old friends again. Most of the youths will like that because they think it would be fun to recall the past and bring back memories with their friends, as Sera explained: 'Because I would like to know how they are doing and talk about the old days and stuff. See their kids.' The adolescents however will spend less time with friends once they get back to Chuuk and start their own family. Now and in college most youths would see their friends almost every day or at least multiple times a week. The youths expect this to change once they have a family of their own. Then most youths expect to see their friends once or twice a week. Only five youths expect to see their friends more than three times a week. Sera is one of them. She expects to see her friends more than three times a week because she would like her friends to help her when she is busy: '...if I am really busy I might need their help. Take my kids if they don't have their own kids.' Jody told me will recall old times with her friends: 'I would try to see them a lot because through them I would still feel a little free and stay young, just by recalling old times and stuff.' However most youths feel they will see their friends less because they are going to be busy with their job and their own family which would leave little time for friends. Nine youths therefore told me their friends will be less important to them when they have their own family, but most of the youths

expect their friends to be just as important when they have their own family as they were to them in college.

Overall most youths feel that friends are important to them both now and in college. But some of them expect the importance of friends to decrease when they have a family of their own. Although friends are important to the youths they expect family to be more important than friends during their lives. In the classification of Eldering (2005, pp. 190-191) this would place the future Chuukese society somewhere in between a fully industrialised society, in which people would see their friends more than their family, and a pre-industrial society, in which family is always more important than friends.

5.2 An exceptional case: adoption

During my interviews I spoke to only two adolescents who deem friends to be more important in their lives than family. One of these boys, Arthur, I already discussed in the previous paragraph, because the valuing of his friends above family is caused by the fact that he is not at the moment staying with his immediate family. However he is planning to live with them again when attending college. He clarified that his family will in that case be more important to him than friends. Therefore his valuation of friends over family is temporary. This is not the case with Sotonio and this has everything to do with the fact that he has been adopted.

As mentioned in paragraph 3.1.3 adoption is very common in Chuuk. The fact that three out of the 34 youths I spoke to were adopted also illustrated this. Adoption has always been described as a problem free process in Chuuk. Bollig (1927, p. 93) states that a child belongs more to the family than it does to an individual couple. When a relative therefore asks for a newborn child, especially if that relative is an older brother or sister, it is hard for a couple to decline. Bollig (ibid.) also states that children are given to relatives without seeming to have negative feelings. Adoption has therefore been seen as something that comes naturally in Chuuk. Recent research by Manuel Rauchholz (2007, pp. 4-5)⁶ has revealed that this is in fact not the case. Both

⁶ Manuel Rauchholz was still in the process of finalizing his research during my research period in Chuuk. He will be publishing a doctorate thesis on this matter of adoption and the emotions involved in it.

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the adoptees, who often feel rejected, and the biological parents, who hurt over giving up their child, experience negative emotions about the adoption. This is however not a recent development, according to Rauchholz (ibid.), who has found early accounts that express similar feelings, but these have not been investigated.

Bollig (1927, p.93) further states that children who have been adopted are treated just like natural children in the adoptive family and have all the rights of the latter. Hezel (2001, p.30) even states that adoptive children were treated just as well as biological children or even better because not doing so would bring shame to the adoptive parents. However this is also not always the case. Rauchholz (2007, p.11) has found that in fact the position of an adoptees within a family does not come naturally and is more at risk of being challenged. Loyalty and belonging must be proven on a daily basis, which is not the case with biological children. Sotonio's story is a good example of this.

Sotonio was adopted by the brother of his biological mother, who lives in the US, when he was only a few months old. He has always believed his adoptive mother was his birth mother until recently when he was told he is adopted. In his adoptive family there is one sister who is older and the rest of his adoptive siblings are younger, which makes him the oldest boy. This causes some tension with the adoptive family as Sotonio explained:

'My father is treating me as the eldest because I am older than my brothers and in tradition when the father is no longer with them I will be the one in charge of the family. So that is why he is treating me that way but my mother doesn't want that. She wants one of her own to take that place...Because she has kids of her own, she tends to treat them in a different way than me, better because they are her own. She is treating me different.'

Because of the status of the elder son in the family the adoptive mother does not treat Sotonio as her own children. Another factor that might play into this is that the marriage between Sotonio's mother and father was arranged to settle peace between two feuding families, as mentioned in paragraph 4.1.2. Since the tension between the two families still exists, it might be hard for Sotonio's adoptive mother to accept him as the oldest of the family. This shows that Sotonio's position in the family is subject to tension and is being challenged by his adoptive mother. He is therefore not being treated the same as his adoptive siblings. In fact Sotonio's adoptive mother treats him

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more strictly than she does her own children. An example of this is that Sotonio has to do chores he, as the oldest boy, should not have to do:

‘When it comes to the house, mother is not doing all that she should because as it turns out I am the one taking care of the kids and cooking for the family and in a way that is kind of bad according to the culture. If there is a sister who is older than him [as is the case here] she should be the one taking care of the kids and cooking and cleaning the house. But because there is the tension in the house between the husband and the wife because I was adopted, my mother is making me do all the chores. And I don’t have anything against that, because I am grateful for my mother... I grew up knowing that that was my mother and only recently I found out about my biological mother and it is hard for me to look at this situation in a negative way, because I am doing it with a grateful heart and I am doing it to pay her back for what she did. And if my real mother and siblings find out about the treatment I have been getting from my adopted mom then it will create a very big issue in the family because I am the eldest in the family.’

Another way in which his mother is being strict toward Sotonio is that he has a curfew:

‘I have a curfew from my mother and I go to school early in the morning and right after school I have to come back to the house. I don’t go and hang out with friends. And at the house I have to do the house chores and study in the evening and then go to sleep.’

Sotonio also mentioned that his siblings are treating him in the same way as his mother is and this makes it harder for them to have a close relationship with his family:

‘It is hard for me to really find a difference because the treatment my mother is giving me, it seems like the whole family is the same. I don’t have a real relationship with my father because he is always at work. The ones remaining they have the same attitude toward me. Maybe if my father was home I would be closest to him.’

The fact that his relationship with his family is problematic makes Sotonio value his friends more even though he does not see them often:

‘I have been treated very nicely by my friends and sometimes I feel closer to the friends than the family. But friends are like family to me. I have eleven friends and they are my friends but also my brothers because we have been friends since elementary. And we have a culture in Chuuk that when friends are very close they are ‘promise brothers’.⁷ It is like being a brother to someone that is not really your brother but we treat him like one. I want to meet with them but I have a hard time finding time because of the strict curfews of my mother... I don’t go out with friends like others do... The only time I meet with a friend is when I see a friend on the street and I take him home cause that is the only place I can meet and hang out.’

⁷ This does not only apply to males but can also be used for females. A close female friend is then called a ‘promise sister’. These fictive family ties are not only made between friends of the same sex but also between friends of the opposite sex. Emy for instance has a male best friend who she refers to as her ‘promise brother’.

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Sotonio hopes that if his 'promise brothers' attend the same college as he does they will be able to see each other more often. Agreeing to be 'promise brothers' is a promise for life. Therefore Sotonio hopes he and his friends will still see each other if they have their own family. They will still be more important than his family: 'if they are still there and they still feel the same way.' In the future he does not expect to have a close bond with his adoptive family: 'I won't really see them because they don't like me, my adopted brothers and sisters. My cousins on father's side would be the ones to come to see me and talk to me.'

Sotonio's situation shows that being adopted is not always a problem free process, nor is an adopted child always treated as the natural children of a couple. In Sotonio's case this results in a problematic relationship with his family which makes him less close to them. Instead of being close to his family Sotonio has made fictive family ties with his friends. He is therefore closer to his friends than to his family, while most Chuukese youths feel that family is just as or even more important than friends. Being adopted can therefore affect the valuation of friends and family, but it does not necessarily do so. The other two adoptees I interviewed do not have a problematic relationship with their adoptive family. Nisi also recently found out she was adopted and now lives with her biological family but views both families as her immediate family. Katina has also been adopted but since her adoptive mother died when she was three years old, her biological family took her in again and she has been living with them ever since. Both these girls do not have a problematic relationship with their family and therefore value friends and family in the same way the other Chuukese youths do.

5.3 The importance of family

According to Eldering (2005, pp. 190-191) family plays a more part of people's lives in pre-industrial societies than it does in industrial societies. She states that in pre-industrial social societies the family is still an important part of people's lives when they are adults. She also describes the kind of relationships males and females usually have with relatives in these kinds of societies. According to her description girls are

closest to female family members such as their mother, older sister or grandmother. Boys are supposed to be closest to older brothers, grandparents, their mother and older sister. When trying to find out about the importance of family and the role the youths want family to play in their lives I also inquired about which family member they are closest to now.

Girls are indeed closer to their mother than their father, while boys are close to both parents. The fact that the father is also mentioned by many youths as someone they are close to is due to the increased importance of the father in the family. As explained in paragraph 1.2, the father has gained authority within the family because the cash economy has caused the father to become the provider for the family instead of the extended family, which has made the nuclear family more important. Since adolescents now have more contact with their father, he has gained importance. Indeed most youths mention their parents and their siblings as the family members they are closest to. Eldering (ibid.) also states that youths are usually close to an older sibling, because these also have some parental roles. This is also apparent in the answers of the adolescents; either they are close to an older sibling or they are the older sibling and therefore show some parental roles towards their younger siblings. This is explained by Ariana who is closest to her younger sister: 'She is just a year younger than I am. And like we see things almost in the same way and I am more like her teacher. I share experiences to her.' The third category of family members, next to parents and siblings, that the youths are closest to are cousins. Some adolescents also mention being close to uncles, aunts and grandparents. This shows that most youths are close to their immediate family but that some are also close to their extended family.

I also asked if they are closer to their extended family or to their immediate family and if they are closer to the male or female family members. Most youths, 24 to be exact, replied that they are closest to their immediate family. Nine however feel just as close to their immediate as to their extended family members. Only Sotonio replied that he is closer to his extended family. This is caused by the problematic relation with his immediate family, as discussed in the previous paragraph. The relationship with the family members on his biological mother's side is however not problematic so he feels closer to them. The fact that most youths are closest to their immediate family

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confirms that this family has become more important as opposed to the extended family. Regarding the sex of the family members the adolescents are closer to, it is apparent that most youths are closer to family members of their own sex, as twenty of them mentioned. The other adolescents are close to both sexes. Most of these are boys, which suggests that boys feel more comfortable associating with family members of the opposite sex that girls do. This is also what has been stated by Eldering (*ibid.*) when she described that boys tend to be close to brothers as well as their mother and older sister, while girls are only closer to female family members.

Being closer to family members of the same sex is also influenced by the taboos that are still prevalent in Chuukese families. These taboos have mostly to do with the prohibition of sexuality within the family. In Chuukese culture brothers and sisters (the first having authority over the latter) are supposed to show each other respect by performing certain obligations. These obligations are greeting each other appropriately, bending or crawling or at least not being physically higher than the person who has authority over you, complying with the others requests, not speaking harshly to each other and avoiding the other or dealing with the other through an intermediary (Goodenough, 2002, pp. 56-57). This last obligation was also mentioned by Sita as one of the reasons why she is less close to her brothers: 'I am closer to the sisters and the cousins because we cannot visit our brothers or cousins. Even if we want to talk to them, we have to go through their wives.' Jody explained she is closer to female relatives because she can share secrets with them: 'I can't go up to the boys and start talking to them about my love life and everything, but with the girls I can easily go up to them and share and everything.' This is also part of the taboo between brothers and sisters, who are traditionally not allowed to talk about or even refer to sexual matters (Hezel, 2001a, p. 114). Father and daughter traditionally also have an avoidance relationship; they were not supposed to show any signs of intimacy (*ibid.*, p. 115). The fact that some of the girls do have a close relationship with their father indicates that this taboo is waning in importance, even though other taboos within the family are still prevail.

If the adolescents are away in school it would be hard for them to see their family in Chuuk on a regular basis since airplane tickets from and to Chuuk are quite

expensive. Most of the youths therefore expect to see their family only once or twice a year either during Christmas breaks or summer vacation. Some even think they will visit their family only once every two years or not until they are done with college. Four adolescents mentioned they will come back to Chuuk in case of an emergency or illness of an important family member. All of the youths would miss their family if they study abroad, and therefore they will keep in contact with them by calling multiple times a week. Usually they would contact their immediate family more often than their extended family. Eight adolescents specifically mentioned calling older siblings because they would be able to advise them. Many youths will have most contact with the family members that live nearest to them, so they can help them when living abroad.

As mentioned in chapter three, almost all youths would like to live in Chuuk once they have finished studying and working abroad. There they will see their family again, especially immediate family whom they plan to see most often. The girls mentioned their mother more than their father in connection with this, while boys mentioned both parents. The same pattern appears with the siblings; sisters are mentioned more by girls while boys mention both sexes of siblings. This indicates that girls will have more contact with same sex relatives if they have their own family than boys. Other family members that some of the adolescents would also see often are cousins, aunts and grandparents. Twelve of them even said they would see their immediate family just as much as their extended family. This is not surprising since some youths already mentioned they are close to all their family members.

Family would be very important to the adolescents once they are back in Chuuk because many of them, 28 in total, would see their family every day. Others mentioned seeing them during weekends or once or twice a week. Seeing their family every day comes naturally to the youths because many of them live near family as Marilyn explained: 'We are all going to stay near each other but in different houses.' However the youths would see their family less if they live abroad. Joseph said:

'The first time I go out there I might have to stay with them [his older sisters] until I find my own place. If I am not that far we will probably meet each other. Weekends maybe, go spend time with them... If my parents are here it will be hard for me to see them but if they are close by we will see them in weekends.'

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Merilyn told me that if she were to live abroad forever she would not see her family in Chuuk much: '...maybe one or two times a year.'

All feel that their family is important and they would want their family to be part of their lives. They have several reasons for this. The reason that was mentioned most is that family is always there when you need them. Vincent said: 'They are the ones to help whenever I am in need.' In return the youths would also help their families. Another reason why family is important is that family is where a person originates from, as Jody explained: 'They are who you can turn to, who you can count on and where you came from.' Merilyn feels her family is important: 'Cause that is my family. That is my blood.' Walter also explained that family is important to him on a very basic level: 'Like we just stay together and eat together.' Since local food is usually produced on family land and distributed among the family traditionally food has been a symbol of solidarity and communality. The sharing of food thus symbolizes the unity of the people that share their food (Goodenough, 2002, p. 266).

Family is not only important to the youths but also to their parents. Therefore most parents want their children to be close to their family and want them to respect and help their family. Stephen explained: 'They want me to treat them like they are our brothers and sisters. At least don't create some kind of dispute between each other because a family always depends on everyone.' To Manny's parents family is important because: '...we are one. Not to forget who we are. Remember like our family members. How we have been through like bad times, difficult times. Ups and down. The family is always there.' Manny agrees with his parents' expectations, as do the other youths.

Conclusion

Overall the youths value family very much. Most of them grew up with their family around them and would like to have this again when they have their own family in Chuuk because the family is always there for them. Family members help each other in every situation which makes them very valuable to the youths. Since most youths will also live around their family many of them will see them everyday. This means that family still is an important factor in the lives of these youths, as Eldering (2005, p.

190-191) states is the case with most pre-industrial societies. However in her description the family in these kinds of societies is not only important emotionally but also economically. This does not seem to be the case with the Chuukese youths since they intend to provide for themselves. The youths therefore do not expect to be dependent on their family economically but the family can be seen as a social security in case of need. As shown before with the importance of friends, in the classification of Eldering, the Chuukese youths intend to place their society somewhere in between the industrialised societies, in which people live more apart from their family, and pre-industrialised societies, in which people are largely dependent on their family. They intend to be close to their family but not depend on them.

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Figure 6: A setting sun on Weno

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CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing chapters I have discussed many different topics to show how Chuukese youths would like to progress in life. Their expectations and ambitions for the future are influenced by the possibilities life in Chuuk offers them. Thus the results of my research have not only shown what life the youths would want for themselves in the future but also what life is like for them now and what difficulties it brings them. In this conclusion I summarise the results I described in each of the chapters. I do this by discussing the five questions that have led me in my research. Following this summary I make some general conclusion connected to the theoretical perspectives mentioned in chapter one.

❖ *What expectations and ambitions do adolescents have concerning education?*

Where and how do they intend to get the education they want?

All of the adolescents want to get a good education and want to attend school abroad because they feel the standard of education is higher there. Popular destinations are the US, Hawaii, Guam and Pohnpei. Factors the youths take into consideration when choosing certain schools are the relative proximity to Chuuk, money and the presence of family at certain destinations. When the adolescents study abroad they name two options for residence, namely with family or in dormitories. There are several issues that influence the decision to stay at one or the other, such as the support family can offer and the independence a dorm offers. Although some youths prefer being on their own, even for them the family can serve as a back-up. This shows that the family is an important source of support and information when migrating abroad. There are several majors that the adolescents find interesting of which the most popular are business, education and law. Majors are chosen out of personal interest, helping others, money or because of good job opportunities. Most of them want to obtain a BA or MA degree and they feel they have good chance of getting such a degree. Their self-proclaimed chances are high, while statistics show that in fact not many Chuukese people obtain a

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college degree and that many youths do not meet college requirements after high school. Some adolescents do perceive the level of education as a problem they might have in college, but the most important problem is money. The resources the adolescents mention are grants, working and asking family members to support them. This last option was mentioned more by lower educated students and grants were mentioned more by higher educated students, which suggests that people at higher levels of education have more knowledge of grants and how to apply for them. However none of the youths were sure whether the money they would gather would be sufficient. This indicates that youths have little knowledge of expenses when living abroad. Many get their information from family members, but it is often insufficient.

❖ *What expectations and ambitions do adolescents have concerning employment?
Where and how do they intend to get the employment they want?*

The adolescents all want to have a job in the future and the professions that were mentioned most are teacher, lawyer and working in business. Overall, lower educated students mentioned lower-graded jobs like being a mechanic or a stewardess more while higher educated students made more mention of higher-status jobs like working in business or as a psychologist. However some high-graded occupations, like being a doctor or lawyer, are mentioned by students from all levels of education. Reasons for choosing certain professions are the youths' interests in the activities of profession, helping others, money, changing society through their work and getting recognition. This last reason shows that personal achievement is important to them. Having a good job entails personal success and this requires developing personal capabilities. This development is also a traditional way to enhance personal status but the difference between the past and present is that in the past respect was ascribed based on gender and age, while now more than in the past individual action can achieve status. The adolescents would also like some things to change in Chuuk. The changes mostly have to do with public facilities, the government and the economy. Most youths however feel it would be hard to realise these changes in the future. Realising their plans for employment might also be hard. Statistics show that it will be hard to find a job in the future in Chuuk since the government will be cutting in expenses and there are little

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vacancies. However most youths feel they would have a good chance of getting a job even though they do perceive some problems, such as corruption and being underestimated. The youths would try to overcome these problems by working hard, however there is a possibility that they will not overcome them in which case they will try to find an alternative occupation, usually in a lower-graded profession. Another option is to migrate abroad. There they will gain experience and make money. Higher salaries will enable them to send some money back to Chuuk to help their family. Many lower educated youths however prefer never to leave, which is surprising since statistics show that it is mostly lower educated people that migrate while higher educated people stay. Even though migration will be necessary, almost all of them eventually want to return to Chuuk.

❖ *In which domestic situation do the youths want to live?*

Starting a family starts with finding a marriage partner. Since most students prefer to leave Chuuk for their education for some youths there is a possibility that their partner might not be Chuukese, but most prefer a Chuukese partner. After finding a partner a couple will keep their relationship secret from their parents, as is tradition, but some girls inform their mother about it, which indicates that they are becoming more open about dating. After dating for several years a boy will ask the girl to get married, after which he and his family would ask the girls' parents for permission. This is the traditional way of proposing a marriage and the youths would like to honour this tradition. However in the past the parents used to have a big say in a marriage, whereas now most parents will comply with their children's wishes. The adolescents would like to get married later than their parents did, around their thirties. They also want fewer children than their parents had because fewer children will be easier to support. Next to children most youths also expect relatives, most often parents, to live with them simply because it is common practise. Others however feel it is at times hard to support relatives. This suggests fewer people will take in family and this would make the future Chuukese family consist more of only the nuclear family. The youths want their relationship with their spouse to be peaceful. Girls with a higher education make more mention of equal rights within a relationship. This is caused by the equality in

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education which makes women more aware of their equality to men. The youths seem to base their relationship mostly on emotions instead of material tasks. However youths at lower levels of education still mentioned material tasks too; a man provides for his wife and a wife takes care of the household. This traditional division of chores is preferred by most youths, although some higher educated youths want a more equal division of chores. The adolescents want their children to respect them. Girls want their children to share secrets with them like a friend, especially about dating. When raising their children, education will be most important and they will also teach them about Chuukese culture, especially how to respect and cook local foods. Not many of them know specific Chuukese skills like dancing or navigation and therefore will not pass these on. Some feel it will be more difficult to teach about Chuukese culture when living abroad because not all skills will be relevant in that foreign context.

❖ *What role do the youths want friends and family to play in their life?*

Almost all adolescents have friends that they made either during school or in their village. Usually they have friends of both sexes but are closer to friends of their own sex because it is easier to talk to them. They also have friends within the family, but most of them are just as close to the friends they are not related to. Most youths are closer to their family than their friends but others feel that friends are just as important as family, because to them they are part of the family. This can be different for adopted adolescents who have a difficult relationship with their family, which makes them value friends more. Friends are however important to almost all youths because they advise them. Some adolescents feel friends will become more important during college because they will be like a family away from home. The youths expect to see their friends less if they have their own family because their family will keep them busy, but they will still deem their friends important. Within the family the youths are often closer to their immediate than to their extended family. Also girls are usually closer to the females while the boys are most often close to both sexes. This is caused by taboos within the family that are still prevalent between the sexes. However the relationship between father and daughter has become closer which shows that the taboo forbidding this is waning in importance. If the youths live in Chuuk they will see

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their family everyday because they will live with or near family. This shows that family will remain important.

❖ *What expectations and ambitions do adolescents think that their parents have for them?*

When it comes to schooling almost half of the adolescents' parents do not agree with their choice of college. In most cases both parents have expectations for their child but some youths only mentioned their father as the one having certain expectations. This implies that the father has gained authority in the family in the last decennia. Usually the differences in opinion between a youth and their parents are easily resolved. Some adolescents mentioned they would give in to their parents' wishes if they would keep insisting even though this will make them angry. Fortunately the parents usually do not insist against their children's wishes. Another option to resolve differences between parents and the youths is for the parents to explain their choice to their youths. A last option is for the youths to explain their decisions. The youths find it hard to disappoint their parents, but differences in opinion do not seem to result in major conflicts. The parents advise their adolescents but they make their own choices. This is also true for all the subjects I asked the youths about. In general it can be said that parents seem to have more control over their children when they are younger. Later on in life the choices their children make are even more their own choice than they are now. Especially when it comes to education the parents do have some influence on their children but most parents choose not to do this and want their youths to make their own choice.

General conclusions

The adolescents have more options than their parents had in terms of what kind of education, employment or household they want, and in their adolescent phase they start to make more choices that will influence their future (Havighurst, 1976, p. 167). However their choices do not only influence their own future; they will also shape the future of their society. Adolescents have the most direct exposure to elements of change such as education. This causes them to rapidly adapt to changes, and thereby

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help their society to implement these changes (Herdt & Leavitt, 1998, pp. 3,7). This means that the choices the Chuukese youths make today, will shape their society's future, which makes the perspectives they have on their own future an indicator of where Chuukese society is headed.

The expectations of the adolescents show changes that can be categorized in three different subject namely individualisation, modernization and migration, all of which I will explain more elaborately. First individualisation is shown in the way the adolescents make choices in their lives. Although their parents do have some influence on the choices they make, most of them say they are able to stick with their personal decision. Parents could insist on what they think is best for their child, in which case the youths will have to comply, but most parents will eventually accept their child's decision. This shows that the adolescents will make their choices as individuals. This trend will also continue in the future since the youths want their children to have more freedom of choice. Individualisation is also apparent in the households the adolescents want in the future. They will for instance choose their own partner based on love, and emotional connections will be most important in their relationship instead of material tasks, which indicates that their marriage is a source of individual happiness (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 71-72). This is mentioned more by higher educated youths, who also made more mention of the importance of equal rights in a relationship, especially the girls. This, according to Beck & Gernsheim (2002, p. 59), is caused by the increasing equality in education between boys and girls. When women get just as high an education as men, the inequalities between them in the labour market lose their legitimacy. Because women will get higher educations in Chuuk they will therefore be more aware of their equality to men and also want this equality in their relationship. This is why they aspire to a more equal division of chores in the household. A higher education does not only spur awareness of gender equality but also of recognition. The higher educated adolescents want to gain respect by being recognized for their performance in education and employment. In order to perform well in the labour market adolescents are encouraged to perform well in education and to develop their individual abilities, which stimulates individualisation (ibid. pp. 32-33). Education thus seems the key ingredient in increasing individualisation and this process will

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continue in the future since all adolescents want a high education in order to perform well in employment and to increase their job opportunities. When raising their children they will also put most emphasis on education. This will continue the process of individualisation into the next generation.

Another process that appears in the changes the adolescents propose for the future is modernization or industrialization. One way this shows is the process in which the adolescents want to gain recognition, by developing their personal capabilities. Traditionally developing capabilities in skills such as dancing or fishing was also a way to enhance personal status and gain respect (Goodenough, 2002, p.70). The only difference between the past and present way of gaining respect is that in the past respect was more ascribed on basis of gender and age and status enhancement was only possible in a small amount. Now respect is less ascribed and more achieved by individual action than was possible in the past. The adolescents therefore plan on getting recognition based on a traditional process of gaining respect but by developing modern skills. Modernisation is also apparent in the way adolescents raise their children. They want their children to be more open to them than they have been with their parents, especially about relationships, something that in the past was not discussed with parents. When it comes to cultural teachings the main thing they will teach their children about their culture is respect, but the youths are not clear on whether they would also teach them respect behaviour such as bending or crawling when passing someone higher in authority who is sitting down. This could indicate that practices of respect behaviour are waning in importance and that the adolescents will use other ways to express their respect to people. Although respect behaviour is still important in the relationship between brothers and sisters, it is waning in the relation between daughter and father. Traditionally these were not allowed to show any signs of intimacy, but some girls I interviewed did mention they are close to their father, which shows that this taboo is losing its importance within the family. This can be caused by the growing importance of the nuclear family, in which a father plays a more important role than he used to do within the extended family. This has made children closer to their father but has also given the father more authority which can lead to more conflicts (Hezel, 2001a, p. 18). The adolescents did mention conflicts but

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these seem to be resolved quite easily by either of the parties explaining their standpoint. The fact that the relationship between parents and child has become more open can therefore not only increase the number of conflicts, but can also offer more ways to resolve these conflicts peacefully.

A last way in which the adolescents want to move slowly away from tradition is the way they want to compose their household. Most adolescents want their household to consist of them, their partner and their children. Many of them also expect other family members to live with them, especially their parents once they get old, but some youths also express that they would rather live without family members. When family is living with them they are expected to take care of them and this can be a burden. Some youths therefore feel their family should learn to take care of themselves. However family will be important to them and will play a more prominent role in their lives than is the case in most industrialised societies. Eldering (2005, pp. 190-191) states that in an industrialised society family becomes less important while friends become more important. This is only partly the case for Chuukese adolescents. They do feel that friends are important but family remains the most important factor in their lives. The expectations and ambitions of the Chuukese youths therefore show that they are in the process of becoming more modernised and industrialised, but still value their traditions. Some youths feel it might become harder to teach their children about Chuukese culture if they migrate abroad, which could result in them losing more of their traditions. However contact with people with a different cultural background can also make them more aware of their tradition and value them even more (Otto & Pedersen, 2005, p. 32).

This brings us to the last subject that is important in the expectations and ambitions of the adolescents, namely migration. The future lives of these adolescents seem to be inextricably interwoven with migration. When planning to further their education in college the youths are fully aware of the necessity of having to move abroad and are often planning to do so. However many of the youths seem to have little knowledge of the practical realisation of their plans. They feel they will have problems paying for college and to help them with this problem they mention resources like family, working and grants. However grants are only named by the

higher educated youths, which indicates that lower educated youths have less knowledge of funding like this, which could limit their opportunities. Perhaps schools could inform these youths better about these possibilities. Another money issue the adolescents were unsure about was if the money they will gather will be sufficient to support them in college. They were unaware of the costs of college and the expenses they would make living abroad. Most of them get their information from family members but this seems insufficient. In order for these youths to prepare themselves for what the future beholds they therefore need to be educated better on these matters. More information about what life abroad is like and the expenses made in college will enable the youths to assess their options more thoroughly. Another matter on which the most adolescents, especially the lower educated ones, need more information is the level of education in colleges. Often the adolescents plan their future based on the idea that they will obtain a college degree, which will not be a reality for all of them, since chances of getting such a degree are small. More information on what level of education will suit them, might help them plan for their future more realistically.

The same things also apply to the expectations and ambitions concerning employment. Some of the lower educated students plan on having professions that require high levels of schooling, like a lawyer or doctor. This is not to say they will never be able to become a lawyer or doctor but some of them might not and knowing this will help them to make more realistic plans for the future. The adolescents do plan to migrate for education, they do not plan on migrating abroad for a long period of time for employment. In fact this will be a reality for many of the youths since employment in Chuuk is scarce and might even get scarcer in the future when US funding will stop and the Chuukese government will have to cut in their expenses. However migration does not have to be a bad development for Chuuk. In fact the remittances that will be sent back to Chuuk by migrants might help the struggling Chuukese economy. Since other export industries are hardly generating money, the export of labour in return for remittances offers a good solution for the Chuukese economy (Hezel, 2003, p. 13). However it has been debated if economies that rely on remittances for their income are sustainable or not. Often it is stated that these economies will never be sustainable because the remittances will fall if the bonds with

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the homeland weaken (Poirine 1998, pp. 65-67). However Poirine (ibid. pp. 74-75) states that remittances will keep being sent because they are sent out of reciprocity; they are meant to pay off the investments family has made in them by supporting them in education. This was also mentioned by the adolescents I interviewed. Also remittances can further be made sustainable by keeping bonds with the homeland strong (ibid. pp. 82-83). Hezel and Lightfoot (2005, p. 5) suggest doing this by letting migrants keep their citizenship and right to vote and by retention of land rights. If these measures are taken migrants will remain bonded to their homeland. This makes remittances a good source of income for the FSM economy, but if indeed the Chuukese society wants to receive this form of income, they have to prepare their adolescents more thoroughly for what is in store for them. The adolescents are now not planning to migrate abroad for a long time and if migration will become an important part of Chuukese life they have to be prepared. As mentioned before, the choices the adolescents make shape not only their own future lives but also their future of their society; they make the future today. If this society wants these youths to plan for a certain future they will need more guidance in their choices. Only then will a good future be made today.

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APPENDIX I

TABLES

Year	Employment	Change
1970	4,702	
1975	6,964	+2,262
1980	9,760	+2,796
1985	12,630	+2,870
1990	13,734	+1,104
1996	15,304	+1,570
2001	15,392	+88

Table 1: Employment Growth in FSM (1970-2000) Source: US Annual Report to UN, 1981; FSM First National Development Plan, 1985; FSM Economic Review, Oct 2002.

	Boys	Girls	Total
College of Micronesia	4	4	8
Xavier High School	5	4	9
Land Grant Division of the College of Micronesia	4	3	7
Chuuk High School	4	5	9
University of Guam	0	1	1
Total	17	17	34

Table 2: The number of boys and girls interviewed by school.

Ages	Boys	Girls	Total
14	0	1	1
16	0	3	3
17	7	6	13
18	3	2	5
19	2	3	5
20	1	1	2
21	1	1	2
22	1	0	1
24	1	0	1
25	1	0	1
Total	17	17	34

Table 3: The number of boys and girls interviewed by age

	Girls	Boys	Total
US	8	11	19
Hawaii	8	7	15
Guam	6	9	15
Pohnpei	3	9	12
Chuuk	3	3	6
China	1	0	1
Australia	1	0	1
Palau	1	0	1
Saipan	0	1	1
Total	31	40	71

Table 4: The number of times a certain destination was mentioned by gender

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	Girls	Boys	Total
one desitination	5	1	6
two destinations	10	9	19
three destinations	2	7	9
Total	17	17	34

Table 5: The number of destinations mentioned by gender

	Xavier High School	College of Micronesia	Chuuk High School	Land Grant	Total
Dorms	8	6	2	2	18
Family	5	3	8	5	21
Total	13	9	10	7	39

Table 6: Places where the adolescents would stay if living abroad by schools.

	Girls	Boys	Total
Business	9	7	16
Education	5	8	13
Law	7	5	12
Medicine	4	0	4
Psychology	2	0	2
Marine biology	1	0	1
Political science	0	1	1
Computer	0	3	3
Music	2	2	4
Astronomy	0	1	1
Social science	1	1	2

Table 7: The different majors mentioned by gender.

	Girls	Boys	Total
High School	17	17	34
AS	17	17	34
BA	17	17	34
MA	13	14	27
PhD	1	0	1

Table 8: Degree's the adolescents would like to obtain by gender

	Xavier High School	College of Micronesia	Chuuk High School	Land Grant	Total
BA degree	10	8	9	7	34
MA degree	10	7	7	3	27

Table 9: Degree's the adolescents would like to obtain by school.

	Xavier High School	College of Micronesia	Chuuk High School	Land Grant	Total
Small: 10-30 %	0	0	0	0	0
Middle: 40-60%	0	0	1	2	3
Big: 70-100%	10	8	8	5	31
Total	10	8	9	7	34

Table 10: Self-proclaimed chances of obtaining a high school degree by school.

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	Xavier High School	College of Micronesia	Chuuk High School	Land Grant	Total
Small: 10-30 %	0	0	0	1	1
Middle: 40-60%	0	0	2	0	2
Big: 70-100%	10	8	7	6	31
Total	10	8	9	7	34

Table 11: Self-proclaimed chances of obtaining an AS degree by school.

	Xavier High School	College of Micronesia	Chuuk High School	Land Grant	Total
Small: 10-30 %	0	0	1	1	2
Middle: 40-60%	3	2	3	0	7
Big: 70-100%	7	6	5	6	25
Total	10	8	9	7	34

Table 12: Self-proclaimed chances of obtaining a BA degree by school.

	Xavier High School	College of Micronesia	Chuuk High School	Land Grant	Total
No chance	0	1	2	4	7
Small: 10-30 %	2	1	2	0	5
Middle: 40-60%	4	6	2	2	14
Big: 70-100%	4	0	3	1	8
Total	10	8	9	7	34

Table 13: Self-proclaimed chances of obtaining a MA degree by school.

	Xavier High School	College of Micronesia	Chuuk High School	Land Grant	Total
Scholarship	10	6	2	3	21
Financial Aid	2	3	1	3	9
Working part-time	6	7	5	3	21
Take a break to work	3	2	3	3	11
Family	4	2	8	6	20

Table 14: Money resources by school.

	Girls	Boys	Total
Business	13	2	15
Lawyer	7	5	13
Teacher	5	9	14
Politician	0	4	4
Doctor/ nurse	4	0	4
Mechanic	0	3	3
Policeforce/fireman	0	2	2
Oilot/stewardess	2	1	3
Psychologist	2	0	2
Moviedirector	1	1	2
Singer	1	1	2
Marine biologist	1	0	1
Secretary	1	0	1
Chinese embassy	1	0	1
Computers	0	1	1
Work for disney	0	1	1

Table 15: Aspired professions by gender.

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	Xavier High School	College of Micronesia	Chuuk High School	Land Grant	Total
Business	6	4	4	0	15
Lawyer	4	1	5	2	13
Teacher	1	5	3	5	14
Politician	1	0	2	1	4
Doctor/ nurse	1	0	2	1	4
Mechanic	0	1	1	1	3
Policeforce/fireman	0	1	1	0	2
Pilot/stewardess	0	1	1	1	3
Psychologist	1	1	0	0	2
Moviedirector	1	0	0	1	2
Singer	2	0	0	0	2
Marine biologist	0	1	0	0	1
Secretary	0	0	1	0	1
Chinese embassy	1	0	0	0	1
Computers	0	1	0	0	1
Work for disney	1	0	0	0	1

Table 16: Aspired profession by school.

	Xavier High School	College of Micronesia	Chuuk High School	Land Grant	Total
Small: 10-30%	0	0	0	0	0
Middle: 40-60%	2	2	0	0	4
Big: 70-100%	8	6	9	7	30
Total	10	8	9	7	34

Table 17: Self-proclaimed chances of finding employment by school.

	Xavier High School	College of Micronesia	Chuuk High School	Land Grant	Total
19-20	0	0	0	2	2
21-23	0	1	2	1	4
24-26	2	0	1	0	3
27-28	2	1	2	2	7
29-31	5	6	4	2	17
31-35	1	0	0	0	1
Total	10	8	9	7	34

Table 18: Expected age of marriage by school

	Girls	Boys	Total
19-20	2	0	2
21-23	3	1	4
24-26	0	3	3
27-28	4	3	7
29-31	7	10	17
31-35	1	0	1
Total	17	17	34

Table 19: Expected age of marriage by gender.

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	<i>Mothers</i>	<i>Fathers</i>	<i>Total</i>
15-18	3	1	4
19-20	3	2	5
21-23	4	4	8
24-26	11	10	21
27-29	1	3	4
30-35	1	2	3
35-38	1	1	2
Total	24	23	47

Table 20: Estimated age of marriage of the parents by gender.

	<i>Xavier High School</i>	<i>College of Micronesia</i>	<i>Chuuk High School</i>	<i>Land Grant</i>	<i>Total</i>
18-19	0	0	0	2	2
20-22	0	0	1	1	2
23-26	0	0	2	1	3
27-29	4	1	1	2	8
30-32	4	7	4	1	16
33-40	2	0	0	0	2
50	0	0	1	0	1
Total	10	8	9	7	34

Table 21: Expected age when having children by school.

Appendices

APPENDIX II INTERVIEWGUIDE

This is the final version of the interviewguide I used during my interviews. This guide contains all the adaptations I made during my research.

<p><i>Introduction:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Thank you again for your cooperation with this interview. I really appreciate you taking the time to talk to me. I will first of all explain the course of the interview and then we can get started. - I am doing research on the expectations and ambitions of adolescents here in Chuuk because I am very interested what plans you have for the future. - During this interview I will ask you a lot of questions. What I would like you to do is answer them as freely as possible. I want to hear your story and opinion. So there are no right or wrong answers to give. - The order in which I will ask you the questions will be the following: First I will ask you some introduction questions to get some basic information. Then we will discuss different topics like education, employment and family. - What I would like to do is tape record this interview. It would give me the opportunity to write out our answers more accurately and make sure I reproduce your words exactly as you said them. Would this be ok for you? - After the interview I will write out this interview and with that information I will later on produce a thesis. In this thesis I will not use your full name or I can even replace your name with a different one so the information can not be traced back to you and will be totally anonymous. Would that be ok? - During the interview I will sometimes make the distinction between what you would like to happen and what you think will actually happen. Sometimes you might think this is the same for you. If it is, just tell me so. - Do you have any questions before we get started? 	
<p><i>Introduction questions:</i></p>	
<p>First I will ask you some introduction questions.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How old are you? - On which island where you born and raised? - Where do you live now? - Which school do you attend? - Why have you chosen to go to this school? - What grade are you in? - 	<p>Why do you live there? Do you like living there? How does it make you feel.</p> <p>Voor college: Which high school did you go to?which classes do you take. Why these?</p>
<p>Now I will ask some questions about <i>education</i>.</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do you plan to go to another school when you have graduated form the one you are on now? - Which school would that be? - Why do you plan to go to that school and not to another? - Which sort of education would you like to 	<p>Why not?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - is it located abroad? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Why would you want to travel abroad? - How would that make you feel? <p>Would you rather stay somewhere else?</p>

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<p>follow there? (classes, major minor)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Why would you like to do that? - What would you like to learn during your education? - Where would you stay during your time at this school? Would you like to stay there? <p>- Would you like to go to another school after completing that school? Zo ja herhaal dan de vorig vragen.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - do you think you will have any problems with actually doing the sort of education that your would like to do? - if you had to give yourself a percentage of whether you can succeed in the education that you would want, what would that percentage be? - Do you fear not being able to finish school? Why? (have doubts about that?) 	<p>Is that even an option?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How far would you be away from your family? - How would that make you feel? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - what sort of problems? (elke apart behandelen) - How would you fix these problems? - What would you do if the problem doesn't get fixt? <p>How does that make you feel? What would you do about that fear?</p>
<p>Is there anything you would like to add to these questions?</p> <p>The next topic that I would like to discuss with you is <i>employment</i>.</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What kind of jobs did your parents have? - What kind of job would you like to have when you are done with school? - Where do you think you would get a job like that? - Where would you live if you have this job? - Would you like to have a different job later on in your life? Why? - If you are looking for a job. What kind of thing would it have to have for you to want it? - How far would you be away from your family? - How would that make you feel? - How are your prospects of finding such a job?? - do you think you will have any problems with actually doing the sort of job that your would like to do? <p>If you had to give yourself a percentage of whether you can get the job you want most, what would that percentage be?</p> <p>Do you fear not being able to get a job? Why?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Why? What would you like about this job? - Is it located abroad? - Why would you want to travel abroad? - How would that make you feel? <p>- salary, activities, environment?</p> <p>Would it be easy to get a job?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - what sort of problems? (elke apart behandelen) - How would you fix these problems? <p>What would you do if the problem doesn't get fixt?</p> <p>How does that make you feel? What would you do about that fear?</p>

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<p>(have any doubts about that?) Would you like anything to change in Chuuk? What would that be? Why? Would you like to help change that? How would you help change that?</p>	
<p>Is there anything you would like to add to these questions? The next topic that I would like to discuss with you is the <i>household</i>.</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What kind of household would you like to have in the future? - Where would you meet your spouse? - Would he or she have to be Chuukees or could they be from a different place? - What if you meet somebody that you are interested in, what would happen next? - how would that finally turn into marriage? - Would you like to have kids? - Do you have any idea where and when your parents met? - At what age did they get married and have kids? How many? - Do your parents live on mom's land or father's land? Where would you live after marriage? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How would you like the relationship with your spouse to be? <p>(How would you like the contact to be, how would you be to him/her)</p> <p>How would you like the relationship with your kids to be?</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Man/vrouw? - school, abroad, back home workplace would that effect where you live later? - At what age get married? - How many? At what age? <p>Why would you want to have less kids?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - how would your spouse have to treat you? Is that different from what your parents have or would want for you? - How would you treat your spouse? Is that different from what your parents have or would want for you? - what jobs would both of you have in the household? Is that different from what your parents have or would want for you? - How would you like to have your kids treat you? Is that different from what your parents have or would want for you? - How would you treat your kids? Is that different from what your parents have or would want for you? - How would you raise them? Is that different from what your parents have or would want for you? - What thing do you feel are important in the raising of your

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<p>What would you learn your kids about their culture and why would you learn them those things? Did your parents teach you those things as well? Why?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do you think any other family member will live with you? - Why these people? 	<p>kids? Is that different from parents</p> <p>How would you feel about that?</p>
<p>The next topic that I would like to talk to you about is friends.</p>	
<p>Which friends are you closest with now? Why?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - are you closer to your family or your friends? why? - are friends or family more important in your life right now? why <p>Would you keep in touch with them when you go to another school? Why?</p> <p>Would you make new friends at your new school?</p> <p>How would you make new friends in new school?</p> <p>How often would you see your friends then?</p> <p>What would you do together?</p> <p>Would they be important in your life when you are in school? Why? - when you are in school, would friends or family be more important? Why?</p> <p>Would you keep in contact with them when you change schools or if you are done with school?</p> <p>Would you have the same friends or different friends when you have a job?</p> <p>Would you have the same friends or different when you have your own family? Why?</p> <p>Would friends be important to you when you have your own family? Why? Would friends or family be more important then? Why?</p> <p>How often would you see them? Or keep in touch with them?</p> <p>How would you feel if you didn't get to see your friends that often?</p>	<p>How does it make you feel to have those friends?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - are any of your friends also related to you? <p>Would friends be same sex or different of both? Chuukese, Micronesian or others as well?</p> <p>Is there anything you learned from your friends that you haven't learned from you parents? What, Why?</p> <p>Why?</p> <p>Why different or the same?</p> <p>How often would you seen them or keep in touch, how close would you be?</p> <p>How close would you be? Why?</p>
<p>The next topic that I would like to discuss with you is <i>family</i></p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Who do you consider to be your closest family members? - With which family members do you expect to have frequent contact when you are in school? - With which family members do you expect to have frequent contact when you have your own spouse and family? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Immediate family or extended family? Male or female? Why is that?

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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - On which occasions do you expect to see you family? - - Do you think family should be a big part of your life? Why or why not? - How would it make you feel if you were away from your family? 	<p>How often would you like to see them? How close would you want to be?</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If you had to summarize what you want for your future, what would you say? 	
<p>Is there anything you would like to add to these questions? The final topic that I would like to discuss with you is <i>parents</i>.</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What kind of school do you think your parents would like you to go to when you finish your current school? - What kind of education do you think they would want you to follow? Why? - What would happen if you chose a different school or education than your parents would have wanted? - What kind of job do you think they would want you to have? Why? - What would happen if you would get a different type of job? <p>What kind of friends would they like you to have?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What kind of family do you think they would like you to have? Why? - How would they feel about you having a different type of family than they would have liked you to have? - What kind of relationship do you think your parents would like to have with your family? What do they expect? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Where would that be? <p>How do you feel about that? Agree with expectation? How would that make you feel? How would they feel about that?</p> <p>How do you feel about that? Agree with expectation? How would that make you feel? How would they feel about that?</p> <p>(Do you feel any responsibility towards your parents?)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - what relationship with spouse? - What relationship with kids? - How to raise kids? <p>How do you feel about that? Agree with expectation? How would you feel about that? How would they feel?</p> <p>do they expect that you will have family living with you? Why? How often see them (also see parents)? Who to be closest to? How do you feel about that? Agree with expectation?</p> <p>This is the last question:</p> <p>How does it make you feel that your parent want different things for you than you do?</p>
<p>I would like to thank you very much for your cooperation. Are there any questions you have about the interview? Would it be ok to contact you again if I might have any more questions?</p>	

APPENDIX III

REFLECTIONS ON MY INFLUENCE

My relation with my informants and how this affected my data is difficult to assess. One thing that may have affected my relation with the youths is that I had a lot of contact with the teachers. This might have caused the students to see me as one of them and this might have made into a little bit of an authority figure. In general the relation between teachers and student was friendly, but in the classes it showed that students were often shy towards teachers. This could have influenced my interviews because they might have felt the same way towards me. The Xavier High School was different from the other schools on this matter. The students were very open and expressive towards their teachers, who were all young American and Australian volunteers. This may have positively influenced my interviews because it may have been easier for the students to talk to me.

My age may also have influenced my relation with the informants. In many cases I was almost the same age as the students I talked to. During the interviews I however did not get the feeling that they perceived it to be a conversation with a peer. This was caused by the slightly formal setting of the interview and the fact that I recorded the interview. I also found it hard to engage in informal conversations with the Chuukese youths. The only place I could meet youths was at school or at home, and since it was hard to meet them at home I interacted with youths in schools. Gender could also have been of influence during my interviews. I discussed some topics in the interviews that were a little sensitive like marriage, dating and raising a family. These subjects were sensitive with both boys and girls but it may have been more awkward for the boys because I was a woman and this is a topic that boys usually do not discuss with women.

Another way in which I might have influenced the youths is by choosing to do an interview in a somewhat formal setting. Most students in Chuuk are not familiar with the concept of the 'interview'. Sometimes they did not understand what this entailed and what the purpose of such an interview is. Even though I extensively explained my intentions, some informants might still have experienced some insecurity, especially students with less English comprehension. Also the questions I asked may have influenced the youths in their answers. The questions I posed are thought of by me and can therefore be influenced by my cultural background. A Chuukese might have asked different questions. However the questions I posed are open which allows the informant to answer freely. Thus I hoped to minimize my influence on the informants.

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APPENDIX IV

LIMITATIONS OF MY RESEARCH

As most researches, my research too has some limitations and therefore the results of this research should be considered in light of these limitations. Most limitations are based on my selection of informants. The selection of informants I have interviewed is not representative for all Chuukese youths. There are for instance Chuukese youths that do not attend high school or a program to re-enter high school. The fact that these youths have only received elementary education or less will probably influence their expectations for the future especially concerning education and employment. The selection of informants is also not representative on basis of the level of education these youths have received so far. I interviewed 18 youths with a relatively high level of education (at Xavier High School and the College of Micronesia). In fact only a small percentage of all Chuukese youths receive this level of education. Most youths are enrolled in lower levels of education. Therefore the higher educated youths are slightly overrepresented in my research. Also I interviewed more seniors than youths from lower grades in high school. Youths at lower grades in high school might have different expectations and ambitions for the future and my research should therefore not be interpreted as representative for those youths.

Another factor which biases my research is that I only did my research on one island of Chuuk, namely Weno. Youths enrolled in schools on other islands might have different expectations about their future. However my informants do originate from different islands in Chuuk. In some cases this does seem to influence their perspective on their future, but in general the youths' answers are quite similar. The fact however remains that my selection of informants contains more youths that originate from Weno than from other islands and youths on other islands might have different thoughts about their future. Another limitation is that I only interviewed 34 youths while Chuuk has about 11.000 youths in the age-range of 15 to 24. This selection of interviewees in my research could therefore differ from other youths in the population.

Another limitation in my data is that, since I am the only analyser in my research, the data might be coloured by my interpretation. I tried to minimize this limitation by letting the informants speak in my thesis through citations and by asking them in interviews if my interpretations were correct. A last limitation is that the future is unsure to all people. We can not predict what will happen in our lives. The changes in the youths living situation might change their plans. The results in my research are therefore more like a snapshot in their lives.

APPENDIX V

SENSITIZING CONCEPTS

Before departure to Chuuk I thought of some sensitizing concepts. These concepts are formed out of the presumptions of the researcher and concern subjects that might be relevant during field research (Wester & Peters, 2004, p. 24). After describing each concept I had thought of before departure, I explain whether or not the presumptions I had up front turned out to have any reality in them.

❖ Discrepancies between expectations and ambitions

Before: There could be some discrepancies between what the youths would want for the future (their ambitions) and what they expect to happen in the future (their expectations). A youth for instance could have the ambition to become a professor at a university but at the same time a youth could have the expectation that this ambition will not become a reality.

After: During my interviews the youths did not seem to have any discrepancies between their expectations and ambitions. It seemed very hard for them to assess the reality of their ambitions. For instance the level of education these youths want is usually quite high and statistics show that little of them will actually be able to get the education they aspired. During my interviews I therefore asked the youths whether they expected to be able to achieve this level of education and almost all youths said they would be able to do this. This could mean that they youths are not being informed about the difficulties of getting a high education. However it could also mean that aspiring a certain education, makes it hard for the youths to acknowledge that their dream might not come true. They might not want to burst their own bubble.

❖ The expectations of parents and youths

Before: I am interested in both the expectations and ambitions of the youths as well as their parents. I however will not be able to ask the parents about their expectations during my research. I therefore want to ask the youths about what expectations and ambitions they think their parents might have for them. This will probably result in different answers than if I would ask the parents about this. The youths might give a different image of their parents' expectations because this image might be coloured by the youths' emotions towards their parents or their parents' expectations. Also the youths might be less nuanced

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than their parents would have expressed themselves. However this topic could be interesting because it can show me how the youths feel about their parents' expectations and how the youths feel their expectations differ from their parents'.

After: Expectations and ambitions of youths and their parents do sometimes differ. Indeed I did get the feeling that the expectations and ambitions of the parents as reported by the youths were sometimes influenced by their own expectations and ambitions. Sometimes when the youths told me about their parents' expectations these were very similar to their own expectations. The parents might have similar expectation as their youths but might have used different phrasings, if I have interviewed them about this. Also parents might have been able to give more detailed answers and might have been more nuanced about the similarities. When a youth felt his or her parents have different expectations they are usually more detailed, but here the parents might also have been more nuanced.

❖ Limited expectations and ambitions

Before: It is also possible that the youths have very little expectations and ambitions. This could be an interesting finding because then I could try to find out why these youths have so little expectations and ambitions for their future.

After: In all of my interviews the youths did not appear to have limited expectations or ambitions. Some youths were more detailed about their plans but this was in my opinion due to the lesser English proficiency of some youths.

❖ Emotions that are involved with expectations and ambitions

Before: It is possible that the youths have certain feelings about their expectations or ambitions. I would also want to find out about these emotions. It is for instance possible that a certain expectation of studying abroad would make a youth feel scared of it could give the youth a feeling of freedom.

After: Indeed the expectations and ambitions of the youths do generate emotions, both negative and positive. Most emotions are however positive.

❖ Realisation of expectations and ambitions

Before: I expect that youths have a clearer image in mind about their expectations and ambitions than of the actual realisation of these expectations and ambitions. The youths might have given less thought as to how they want to realise their plans.

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After: Indeed the realisation of the youths' ambitions is often less clear to them than the ambitions themselves. This is partly due to the lack of information the youths have on the possibilities for realisation. This is especially the case with the realisation of the youths' ambitions in education. They often have little idea about where to get sufficient funding and how much money they would need in college. This is partly due to lack of information.

❖ Expectations and ambitions over time

Before: I think the youths might have a clearer image of their expectations and ambitions about things that will happen in the near future than of things that will happen a long time from now. I therefore expect the youths to have a clearer vision of what kind of education they want, than of what kind of household they would have.

After: The youths in my interviews did not seem to have a less clear image of things that are further away in the future. In fact some of them had a clearer image in their head of what they want their marriage to be like than what kind of job they might want. In my opinion this is due to the factors that could influence the ambitions outcome. I think the youths feel more factors could interfere with where and what kind of job they will have in the future than if they will have a family. A job is more influenced by factors outside oneself while raising a household is much more a personal choice.

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APPENDIX VI MATRIX OF INFORMANTS

I used the following matrix in the analysis of my data. In the rows I placed the informants' names and in the columns I specified the questions I asked during my interviews. This is only a selection of the data I analysed through these matrixes because including all my data would be too extensive. I therefore only included data that informs about the most important characteristics of the adolescents I interviewed.

	Age	Born on island	parents originate from island	school attending now	Grade
<i>Sita</i>	19	weno	Weno	University of Guam (UoG)	1st year
<i>Mike</i>	25	Pohnpei	Uman, Mortlocks	before Arizona, now at COM	1st year
<i>Joseph</i>	22	Weno	weno, tonoas	COM	6st year
<i>Jody</i>	19	weno	Weno	before UoG now COM	1st year
<i>Wendy</i>	20	Weno	Outer islands	COM	2nd year
<i>Rex</i>	24	weno	Weno, Tonoas	CM	2nd year
<i>Gina</i>	21	weno	Fefen	COM	3rd year
<i>John</i>	18	pohnpei	Pohnpei	COM	1st year
<i>Lidy</i>	19	weno	Weno	before Hawaii now COM	1st year
<i>Eriko</i>	17	weno	Weno	Xavier High School	12th
<i>Ariana</i>	17	Hawaii	Weno	Xavier High School	12th
<i>Emy</i>	17	Guam	Weno and Japan	Xavier High School	12th
<i>Vincent</i>	19	Weno	Weno	Xavier High School	12th
<i>Sera</i>	17	Weno	Puluwat	Xavier High School	12th
<i>Jimmy</i>	17	Pohnpei	Mortlocks, Faicuuk	Xavier High School	12th
<i>Stephen</i>	17	Portland US	Tonoas, Udot	Xavier High School	12th
<i>Anna</i>	18	Yap	weno, yap	Xavier High School	12th
<i>Manny</i>	17	Guam	tol Tonoas Fefen	Xavier High School	12th
<i>Cindy</i>	17	Guam	weno?	Land Grant	Dropped out in 9th
<i>Antia</i>	16	Paata	Paata	Land Grant	Dropped out in 9th
<i>Sharleen</i>	16	Mongelot	Outer islands	Land Grant	Dropped out in 10th
<i>Hanson</i>	17	weno	weno	Land Grant	Dropped out in 9th
<i>Walter</i>	17	Weno	Weno	Land Grant	Dropped out in 11th
<i>Sotonio</i>	17	weno	mortlocks	Land Grant	Dropped out in 12th
<i>Seferino</i>	20	Tol	tol	Land Grant	Dropped out in 11th
<i>Vicky</i>	16	Weno	weno	Chuuk High School	9th
<i>Pauline</i>	17	Namoluk	namoluk	Chuuk High School	12th
<i>Arthur</i>	19	Weno	weno, fefen	Chuuk High School	12th
<i>Nisi</i>	17	weno	weno, faichuuk	Chuuk High School	12th
<i>Benito</i>	21	Paata	Paata	Chuuk High School	11th
<i>Katina</i>	14	Paata	Paata	Chuuk High School	10th
<i>Kamy</i>	18	Weno	Kutu	Chuuk High School	11th
<i>Frandy</i>	18	Weno	Weno	Chuuk High School	12th
<i>Merilyn</i>	18	weno	Houk	Chuuk High School	12th

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	next school	Major	Profession	chance abroad?
<i>Sita</i>	1. Eastern Oregon, 2. Hawaii, Manua	Law or manegement, tourism	Lawyer, own business, work in a hotel	60 or 50%
<i>Mike</i>	1. Arizona 2. Hawaii 3. Guam UoG	Education	Mechanic, teacher, businessman	50-50
<i>Joseph</i>	1. Com Pohnpei	Education, Law	police , teacher, lawyer	50-50
<i>Jody</i>	UoG, Chaminade	Education, Law	teacher law	50%sure
<i>Wendy</i>	US	Education ,psychology, marine biology.	Psychologist or marine biologist	80%
<i>Rex</i>	COM pohnpei	Education	teacher	None
<i>Gina</i>	Hawaii Community College	Education, accounting	accountant in business, own business, teacher	none
<i>John</i>	COM pohnpei	Business computer engineering	work at telecom	none
<i>Lidy</i>	COM pohnpei	business	work in hotel, own a hotel later	small
<i>Eriko</i>	Guam Hawaii or States	no idea,	doesnt know yet	50%
<i>Ariana</i>	1. Eastern Oregon 2. merheast, Portland,	Law	Lawyer	30%
<i>Emy</i>	Hawaii hbu	Business management	Own a store	55%
<i>Vincent</i>	COM pohnpei	social studies, science	Teacher	50%
<i>Sera</i>	1. Ohio 2. Chaminade	Psychology 50% or law	Lawyer or psychologist,	90%
<i>Jimmy</i>	Savannah. Chaminade. Fortham New York	Sound design, business	Own studio. Be a singer.	90-95%
<i>Stephen</i>	1. Chaminade Portland	Business	doesn't know yet	30-40%
<i>Anna</i>	1. Xavier Ohio 2. Chaminade 3. China 50	Accounting, pre-med	Accountant bank or business, doctor.	10% chance
<i>Manny</i>	UoG or Hilo 50-50 chance	Law 60%, Business 30% Computer 10%	Lawyer or politician	Yes, 60%
<i>Cindy</i>	Chuuk High school, COM Pohnpei	Teacher	teacher middle school	No
<i>Antia</i>	high school in Hawaii COM Chuuk	Education, socials studies	teacher in Chuuk at high school,	no
<i>Sharleen</i>	Weno High, COM, UoG	Doktor	dishwasher, doctor	No
<i>Hanson</i>	Weno high, COM Pohnpei	astronomy and co-pilot	co pilot, moviemaker	No
<i>Walter</i>	Weno high, COM Chuuk/Pohnpei, US	lawyer, teacher,	first teacher then lawyer, mechanic	Just 1 year
<i>Sotonio</i>	Chuuk High, COM Chuuk/Pohnpei, US	law education	Lawyer, teacher high school. Mayor	No
<i>Seferino</i>	chuuk high, COM Pohnpei	Education	teacher in college COM	50 %
<i>Vicky</i>	Guam UoG	1. nurse, 2. accounting	secretary	None
<i>Pauline</i>	COM Chuuk.	Business and law	Teacher, lawyer, businesswoman	None
<i>Arthur</i>	COM Chuuk.	education fireman	Teacher, fireman	None
<i>Nisi</i>	UoU Idaho, Palau	Law	Lawyer	100%
<i>Benito</i>	college Guam	law business	Representative, governor, lawyer	Not
<i>Katina</i>	GW high school in Guam	1. Dokter 2. stewardess, 3. businesswomen	stewardess doktor and business women.	100%
<i>Kamy</i>	COM pohnpei,	Carpenter/political science	Legislator, dep of education	no
<i>Frandy</i>	Saipan college	education	Teacher, mechanic	None
<i>Merilyn</i>	Maui Community college	Law	lawyer, stewardess , businesswomen	big change

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